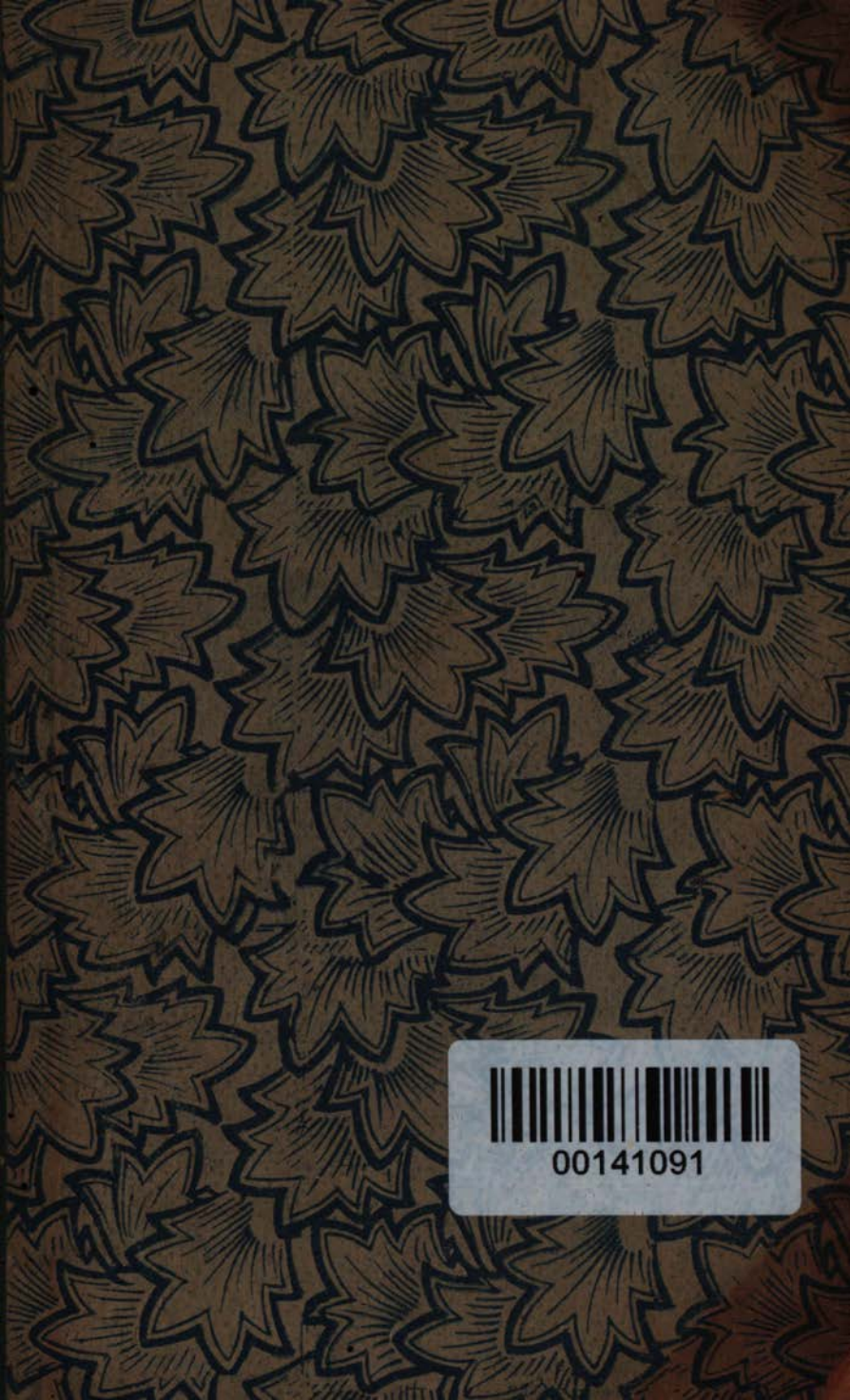
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His Royal Highness, EDWARD,

DUKE OF KENT

&c. &c.

From a Picture by P. Dawe, R.A. in the poſſeſſion of

H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent.

LIFE

OF

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

EDWARD, DUKE OF KENT.

BY

THE REV. ERSKINE NEALE

WOOLBROOK GLEN, SIDMOUTH

WWA-6-7

LONDON.

RICHARD BENTLEY.

00141091

PREFACE.

It would form an amusing chapter to the reader,—the reverse, decidedly, to the writer,—if an enumeration were given of the various obstacles which rose up in rapid succession, to impede the progress of this Memoir.

His Royal Highness was a voluminous writer; and though very many of his private letters were, on his demise, most properly surrendered to the Duchess,* a large number is still extant, and in very diversified custody. Several of these I have been so fortunate as to see, but their possessors, generally speaking, were unwilling that they should be transcribed, that their tenor should be even partially divulged, or that

* A large packet of documents of this description was transmitted to Her Royal Highness, shortly after the Duke's decease, by his confidential chaplain, and intimate friend, Dr. Rudge.

any abstract should be made of their contents. A brief and hasty perusal, was, in many cases, all that could be accorded me.

Nor were hindrances of another kind wanting. Persons who affected to be conversant with the chronicles of the past abounded in dissuasives. "You will find," cried they, "such cruelty when you come to deal with his government of Nova Scotia; such a merciless use of the lash, and such a string of executions, when you approach the mutiny scene at Gibraltar, as will compel you to abandon your task, and cause you to regret your temerity in commencing it."

Others hinted that a Life of the Duke could *not* be written,—it would be far too hazardous under existing circumstances.

Another—but let us have his own words. None possessed greater facilities than himself for arriving at a sound conclusion relative to the Duke's career.

"The history of the Duke's military life is so interwoven with difficulties, that some time yet must elapse before it can be done justice to. It would be unjust

to deal with it partially; and the more so as documents exist on which it can be impartially treated, and to his honour and credit .

"It must be some years, if even then, before many details could be laid before the public, that it is due to the Duke's memory should be known."

Why, then, did I persevere?

1. Because all my military correspondents, with one exception, urged me to proceed. All expressed their earnest wish to see the Duke's military career traced out; and some explanation given of that strange event, the mutiny at Gibraltar; and its still stranger issue, the Duke's recall after thoroughly suppressing it.

2. Next, because, after waiting for some years in the anxious hope that a far more able writer would undertake the task, I thought it desirable that some effort, however faint and feeble, should be made to do justice to his memory, before the generation co-temporary with the Duke *had wholly passed away.*

3. Another motive urged me. In early life I had seen a good deal of Dr. Maton. I had heard him

often allude to the Duke—to his habits, his peculiarities, his singular kindness of heart and boundless consideration for the unfortunate. I had heard him characterize the Duke as the "most princely-minded man" whom he had ever known, and deeply regret his undeserved embarrassments.

4. Some grateful and personal recollections were busy within me. My father had had the distinction conferred on him of being appointed, in 1819, one of His Royal Highness's Physicians Extraordinary. In consequence of unforeseen circumstances, the honour was mine of waiting upon His Royal Highness at Kensington Palace, with certain medical credentials—among them a very kind and strongly-worded letter from our unvarying friend, Dr. Maton. I shall ever retain the most indelible recollection of the Duke's courtesy and kindness during that memorable interview; of the interest with which he drew forth, and the cordiality with which he listened to, my statement of my father's ill-requited public services; of the tact with which he grasped the various features of Dr. Neale's enterprise—his bringing, at the hazard of his life, most important despatches to England, from the British Embassy at Constantinople, *his immediate predecessor* IN SUCH

SERVICE *having been* MURDERED, and no party appearing particularly willing to undergo the risk — and then, the hazard having been braved and the service fully and faithfully rendered, the unworthy requital of his never receiving—nor his widow to this hour—the *honorarium* of 500*l.*, almost invariably bestowed upon individuals trusted in such emergencies, and *successful*.

I think I hear him now saying to me, holding Dr. Maton's letter in his hand, and with his peculiarly winning and gracious smile—" Presuming your statement to be correct, that your father was the bearer of these despatches; that he was so at the instance of the British Ambassador; that he brought them safely to England and delivered them to Mr. Fox; that his predecessor was murdered; and that there was no slight risk run by himself; my impression is, (if these statements be facts,) that he fully deserves the customary gratuity, and that it ought not to be withheld. I will make some immediate inquiries on this point; and, if possible, aid you. Meanwhile, this is my counsel. Never," said he with a smile, " withdraw your claim: never cease urging it, and never compromise it."

Such, to make a clean breast of it, gentle reader, were my motives; whether their issue deserve encouragement must be matter for your own decision.

So far as the Duke's Government of Nova Scotia is concerned, the following letter from that deservedly popular ruler and daring soldier, Sir John Harvey, merits close attention. I am delighted to have such a document wherewith to grace my pages :—

"Government House, Halifax,
October 4th, 1849.

"Reverend Sir,—I was duly favoured with your communication of the 10th ult., and have had pleasure in causing the legislative records of this colony to be searched for the documents relative to the late Duke of Kent, referred to therein; and I have the gratification of herewith transmitting to you the most full and satisfactory evidence with respect, not only to the *unanimous* vote of the sum of five hundred guineas for the purchase of a Star of the order of the Garter (of brilliants), but of several addresses to His Royal Highness, expressive of the high estimation in which the Duke's character was held, not only by the Legislature, but by the people of this province.

"To these testimonials I have the pleasure to add a letter which has been addressed to me, at my own suggestion, by the venerable and highly respected Chief Justice of this province, who served under the Duke while at Halifax, as a Captain in His Royal Highness's own regiment—7th Royal Fusileers; and I can further state, that

during *the whole period* of my connexion with the British North American Colonies—nearly forty years—*I have never heard the Duke of Kent spoken of otherwise than in terms of affectionate and grateful respect;* ESPECIALLY IN NOVA SCOTIA, WHERE HE WAS BEST KNOWN.

" I have the honour to remain,

" Reverend Sir,

" Your very obedient Servant,

" J. HARVEY,

" Reverend Erskine Neale, Kirton Rectory." *" Lieutenant-General and Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia."*

With reference to the Duke's peculiar and family trials, let *a man of high rank* be heard :—

" Brighton, July 1st, 1848.

" SIR,—Your letters of the 5th and 14th reached me here. I hope that no trifling difficulties will deter you from prosecuting your task of combining, in a biographical form, the principal events in the life of the Duke of Kent.

" I cannot give you the assistance *you* ask, and *I* should like to render. A few of his letters are in my possession; but, in looking them over, I find they refer to matters so entirely private, that I should not feel myself justified in consenting to their publication, even in a restricted and mutilated form. A single sentence will describe him—*He was a military reformer*—attempted to remedy certain gross evils which required immediate correction, and met with no support either from within or from without, from his family or from his officers. Jealousy, in a certain high quarter, to which I cannot for obvious reasons more particularly allude, swamped him. Now, to do this ill-used

man justice, you must not shrink from telling certain unpalatable truths. You must speak out, and say . . . . . .

"You will also be unjust to his memory unless you notice his occasional sternness of look, but invariable softness of heart. Paint him as a thorough soldier—sharp to severity *on* parade; kind to a fault, *off*. You must advert also to the fascination of his manner as a host; and to the grace and address with which he did the honours of his own table.

"You must notice his horror of excess in soldier and civilian; his hatred of gambling; his love of simple pleasures; his habits of early rising; his partiality to exercise in the open air; his punctuality; the value he placed on time; his preference of simple food; in all which points he greatly resembled my dear old master, George the Third.

"You should state, moreover, that the sense of his wrongs was present to him—even up to the very last year of his life. The mention of Gibraltar grated on his feelings—and any allusion, however incidental, to antecedent events there, chafed and roused him.

"And if your aim be impartiality, you must hint that George the Third, exemplary monarch as he was, always had his eyes marvellously open to the Duke's faults; and that Queen Charlotte, who never would see the Regent's errors, nor admit as excessive the lavish expenditure of that costly personage, regarded Edward's wants as 'monstrous'—and himself as a paragon of 'imprudence and extravagance.'

"The sums which Her Majesty privately bestowed on the Prince of Wales surpass belief; while from Prince Edward she resolutely withheld her resources.

"Moreover, Sir, you will be false to your sacred calling if you depict the Duke other than a benevolent, chari-

table, forgiving man—who had much to forget and much to pardon in others, and who conscientiously did both.

"My advanced years, and increasing disinclination to writing, prevent my adding more than that I am, with best wishes,

"Yours faithfully,

* * * *

"*Rev. E. Neale.*"

"P.S.—A political Pamphlet, entitled 'The Rival Princes,' contains some curious details as to the treatment of the Duke at the Horse Guards. My copy (if you wish it) is at your service. The interlineations and unqualified contradictions in certain pages are in the Duke's handwriting. But you will find enough of truth to repay perusal."

With respect to the outbreak at Gibraltar, fully treated of in a succeeding page, it ought in fairness to be stated, that half of the 2d battalion of the Royals, which mutinied, was composed of Irish, and of drafts from other corps, which, as all my military readers will be well aware, are invariably the worst men. The wonder was, during the first hour of the *émeute*, how, after the Duke's judicious arrangements about the wine-houses, they could have succeeded in getting supplies of liquor in such quantities. This feeling,

however, was dispelled on the trial (Dec. 29th, 1802) of eight of the rioters of the 25th regiment. It then came out that the wine-sellers whose houses had been closed — the most ill-conducted houses were advisedly selected by the Duke for suppression —gratuitously supplied many of the men of the 25th regiment with buckets of wine in as great quantity as they could drink, with the design of infuriating them against the Duke, creating an outbreak, and during its prevalence surprising the Governor into a promise of re-opening *all* the wine-houses as the means of restoring quiet.

The "string of executions" only amounted to three! On the 3d of January, 1803, at eight o'clock in the morning, three of the ringleaders belonging to the 25th regiment—Pastoret, Teighman, and Reilly—were shot on the grand parade, in the presence of the whole garrison under arms.

If the Duke erred, it was, as some military men strongly contended, on the score of lenity. But, as good old Bishop Hall says, "We do no whit savour of heaven, if we have not learned to return good for evil."

It but remains that I should thank those who have aided me in my task.*

I have to offer my heartfelt acknowledgments to the Rev. Dr. Rudge, Rector of Hawkchurch, long the Duke's confidential friend and chaplain, from whom I have derived much valuable information.

I am also greatly indebted to the Rev. Dr. Collyer, who enjoyed twelve years of uninterrupted intimacy with His Royal Highness, and to whose memoir of the Prince I have without scruple applied.

My cordial and respectful thanks are due to His Excellency Sir John Harvey, Governor of Nova Scotia, to the venerable Chief Justice Halliburton, and to Mr. Adolphus, from whose valuable collection of rare pamphlets I have derived considerable guidance.

My obligations are not slight to the Rev. Mr. Watson, minister of Stirling, for the trouble he so

* May I seize this opportunity of naming a little periodical, "Notes and Queries," as a most desirable mode of intercommunication for literary men?

kindly took to ascertain that important fact in the Duke's life,—his ORIGINATING *regimental* schools; to Lieutenant-Colonel Mullen, late of the Royals; and to Major Edward Boyd, His Royal Highness's *protégé* and godson, a distinction he may well be proud of: one who remembers vividly the kindness shown him by his early patron, and affectionately cherishes his memory.

One remark more, and I take my leave.

The considerate reader must look at the OBJECT of the volume rather than at its *execution*. As for the rest—to use the words of Sydney Smith—

"I mention these things because men who DO *good things* are so much more valuable than those who *say wise ones;* because the order of human excellence is so often inverted; and great talents considered as an excuse for the absence of obscure virtues."

KIRTON RECTORY,
March 15th, 1850.

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THE LIFE

OF

FIELD MARSHAL, HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, EDWARD,

DUKE OF KENT.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH—CHILDHOOD—EARLY LOVE OF TRUTH—DISPLEASES THE KING—DR. FISHER, BISHOP OF SALISBURY—HIS AFFECTIONATE REGARD FOR THE DUKE'S MEMORY.

1767—1785.

Dr. Arnold, in his touching addresses to the young under his care,—how vividly are those addresses remembered, and how marvellous and abiding the influence which they exercise!—maintained that "*Every life has its lesson.*"—"The great and good Father above," he was accustomed to say, "is continually teaching his erring children. Animate and inanimate nature—woods, waters, fields, flowers—the shell from the caves of ocean, and the fossil from the stone quarry, all bear tidings of Him. But man He teaches more prominently and emphatically by the

failures, successes, temptations, trials, and disappointments of his fellow. *Every life bears some great moral lesson.* And the more elevated the station of the actor, and the more chequered the life, the more varied is the lesson and the more weighty is the moral which that life conveys."

It is in the spirit of these observations that I address myself to the task of giving some detailed account of that just and kind-hearted man—the late Duke of Kent: a task arduous and delicate in itself, and embarrassed by difficulties which will readily occur to a reflecting reader.

His indulgence and favourable construction I am sure I shall receive.

If, as the Life progresses, I should moralize too often, or mix up with its incidents topics of graver moment, perhaps that will be held pardonable in one whose calling demands from him that all he says or does should have a reference to man's higher and nobler destiny—the bearing of the present upon the future—and his daily preparation for immortality.

Edwârd Augustus, fourth son of George the Third by his consort the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Stretlitz, was born at Buckingham House, at noon, on the 2d of November, 1767.

The event is thus briefly recorded in the public prints of the day.

"This day, about noon, the Queen was happily delivered of a Prince. Her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales, his Grace the Archbishop

of Canterbury, several Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and the Ladies of Her Majesty's Bed-chamber, were present."

"My arrival was somewhat *mal-à-propos*"—the Duke was more than once heard to say to one who possessed much of his confidence, and who was a frequent guest at Kensington,*—"the month was gloomy, November; the Court was enveloped in gloom, for it was a season of mourning; one of my uncles, a great favourite with my father, was then lying dead in his coffin; his funeral, in fact, took place some twenty-four hours after my birth. Sometimes the thought has crossed me, whether my inopportune appearance was not ominous of the life of gloom and struggle which awaited me."

He was christened, on the 30th of the same month, at St. James's Palace, by Dr. Terrick, then Bishop of London.† The name of Edward was given to him by George the Third's express desire, in memory of the monarch's eldest brother, Edward, Duke of York, whose remains were carried to their last resting-place, in Westminster Abbey, the very day following the young Prince's birth.

The sponsors at the royal baptism were the hereditary Prince of Brunswick—proxy, Lord Hertford; Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh Stretlitz—proxy,

* Rev. Henry White, formerly Minister of All Hallows, Barking, and one of His Royal Highness's Chaplains.

† Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was at that time confined by illness to his palace.

Lord Huntingdon; and her Serene Highness, the Landgravine of Hesse Cassel—proxy, the Duchess of Hamilton.

The Duke's childhood, as that of princes generally, may be passed over as affording little scope for observation; but, at an early period of life, he was placed under the care of an earnest and judicious instructor, Mr. Fisher, subsequently Canon of Windsor, and successively Bishop of Exeter and Salisbury.

For this appointment as tutor, he is understood to have been indebted to the good offices of Dr. Hurd. The attachment of the reigning monarch to the venerable and learned Bishop of Worcester is matter of history. The King wrote to him frequently and confidentially; disclosed to him his domestic sorrows; sought consolation at his hands in the hour of bereavement; and had resolved on placing the Queen and his youthful family in the Bishop's palace at Worcester, as a place of refuge, in the event of the threatened invasion by Buonaparte being carried into effect. The letters which passed between the monarch and the prelate,—from their unreserved interchange of sentiment, from their tone, ease, and frank details,—resemble letters between intimate friends of the same, or nearly the same grade in society, rather than those likely to be exchanged between a sovereign and a subject. In some of them George the Third asks for the "good Bishop's advice and opinion." In others he announces that he has acted on his suggestions; and in all of them the King evidently regards his

correspondent as a man gifted with no ordinary powers of judgment and discrimination.

At an early period of his career, Mr. Fisher was fortunate enough to have attracted the Bishop's notice; was by him introduced to the favourable consideration of the King; and became Prince Edward's tutor. How faithfully he fulfilled his trust, how strong and enduring the attachment entertained towards him by his pupil, may be gathered from several of the Duke's letters which I have had an opportunity of perusing. On the other hand, the affectionate feelings of undying attachment cherished by the Bishop for his royal pupil may be inferred from the following anecdote, which I am happy to place on record, from personal observation.

The year was 1824; the Bishop was then residing in Lower Seymour Street; and the season that immediately preceding his Spring ordination. The Bishop was far advanced in years; harassed by a perpetual and irritating cough; seemed feeble and dispirited; and apparently unequal to taking any share in the conversation which was passing around him. There he sat, a tranquil and benevolent-looking old man; and if ever gentle, and courteous, and kindly expression of eye rightly indicated the mild and tolerant spirit which reigned within, it was in the person of John Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury.

The conversation took a wide range: touched, among other matters, upon art—Constable, the painter, was present;—glanced at and traversed a vast variety

of topics. The prelate lent but a listless ear. On a sudden an elderly clergyman observed that he had that morning seen the little Princess Victoria, during her drive; had been close to her for some moments; and had much to say about this fortunate *rencontre*. The Bishop's attention was instantly roused: his eye kindled; he turned eagerly towards the speaker, and asked question after question;—how the little Princess looked—whether she seemed cheerful—whom she resembled—was her likeness to the late Duke so marked as many of his friends delighted to represent it? Each query received minute reply. The Bishop clenched the last answer with the fervent exclamation, "May the little Princess resemble her father in character, but not in destiny!"

"The former," said one of the guests, "your Lordship is said to have had no small share in forming."

"That recollection is most agreeable to me, particularly now that he is gone. Noble fellow! I escorted him over my cathedral a few weeks before his death—little imagining his decease was so near, or that I should be the survivor. I may well be proud of him. A prince with whom a love of truth was paramount to every other consideration; a prince whom nothing could induce to dissemble; even in childhood it was the same. At Kew Palace there was a time-piece, highly prized by George the Third: it was a clumsy affair; there was nothing particular in its construction, or ingenious about its movement. The only attraction it possessed arose from its historical associ-

ations. It had belonged, if my memory rightly serves me, to the youthful Duke of Gloucester, son of Queen Anne. One morning the pedestal of this relic was found vacant, and the time-piece itself lying on the ground, a wreck. It had been battered by some heavy instrument, and lay shivered in fragments. Repair was hopeless. The dial was damaged irreparably. The King's displeasure was not light; and immediate inquiries were instituted. They issued in no satisfactory result: the culprit could not even be guessed at; no one had witnessed the disaster; no one could explain its occurrence. After many hours had elapsed, by mere chance a question was put to Prince Edward. 'I did it,' was the instant and unhesitating reply. 'But,' said one party, anxious to screen the intrepid boy,"—I suspected, from a little tremor in the voice, that it was the Bishop himself,—"'your Royal Highness did it by accident?' 'No; I did it intentionally.' 'But your Royal Highness regrets what you have done?' 'No; not at all.' 'Not sorry?' 'No; I may be sorry for it to-morrow, but I certainly am not sorry for it now.' It was impossible to get over this avowal. The Prince was punished, AND NOT SLIGHTLY." The Bishop paused, and then added, in a low but emphatic tone, "*When was it* OTHERWISE, *in childhood or manhood?*—WHEN, and *where?*"

Mrs. Fisher interposed. The tenderest and most vigilant of nurses, she saw at a glance the invalid's emotion, and was most desirous to terminate it; her wish was to stem the tide of these reminiscences at once.

"The anecdote is complete, is it not, Bishop?"

"Not quite! The boy was father to the man. In this trait of character lies the secret of many of the after sorrows of his life. With him truth was omnipotent. *He could not dissemble.* Were those, who in a measure controlled his destiny, able justly to estimate his character? *Could* they appreciate it? *Did* they? I fear not."

This anecdote, which on retiring from the Bishop's table I at once and fully committed to paper, impressed me strongly. I remembered the Duke, I had ample reason so to do. I had been honoured by an interview with him at Kensington Palace in 1819, and bore in grateful remembrance the kindly counsel he then gave me. My father had held the distinguished appointment of one of his Physicians Extraordinary; and, furthermore, His Royal Highness had alluded in the most feeling manner to my father's services and claims on Government, and had said he "considered his (my father's) case a very hard one, and one that merited the most generous construction at the Foreign Office." As A SON was it likely that *such a remark from such lips* would be lightly heeded or soon forgotten?

CHAPTER II.

THE SOJOURN IN GERMANY—BARON WANGENHEIM—THE PITIFUL ALLOWANCE DOLED OUT TO THE PRINCE—THE GERMAN SOLDIER A SLAVE.

1785—1786.

THE profession of arms—that of his own free choice, and that to which, despite of ill-usage and unjust censure, he was till death devotedly attached—was adopted by the Prince in February, 1785. In that month, being then in his eighteenth year, he was sent to Luneburg, then forming a part of the Electorate of Hanover, there to prosecute his military studies. Here he first served as a cadet. It was an unhappy selection in every point of view. Luneburg itself is a wretched, poverty-stricken, gloomy town. The province which surrounds it, and of which it is the capital, is a vast plain of sand, interrupted here and there by deep moors and forests of pine. Wide-spreading and ague-breeding marshes; long, straight, deep, and dreary looking dykes, kept up at an enormous expense, to protect it from the inundations of the Elbe,—form its principal and repulsive features. The Duke appears to have viewed the place, the people, the professional duties demanded from him, the military chief under whose charge he was placed, and who was his arbitrary and inflexible governor, with unmitigated disgust. Some

rough memoranda drawn up at this period by the youthful soldier himself—memoranda which I have been permitted to glance at—bear out this conclusion. There was no community of feeling between His Royal Highness and his military superior. The latter he regarded and describes as "a mercenary tyrant," looking only to the allowance of 1000*l.* granted him (Prince Edward) by "Farmer George," and bent on appropriating to himself (the Governor) every shilling he could squeeze out of it. "*Farmer George*" meaning, I presume, the King. In another place the Prince complains bitterly that though the stipulated allowance, 1000*l.* per annum, was avowedly for his use and benefit, "one guinea and a half per week, sometimes melted down by military forfeits to twenty-two shillings, was all that found its way into his purse for his personal expenses of every kind. This he calls in another place "open robbery."

Meanwhile his military duties were enforced with unrelenting severity. No pause, no respite was granted. His feelings were galled and his spirits depressed by unintermitting attention to the wearying and mechanical details of parade and drill—drill and parade. What wonder that his heart sickened at his position and his duties!

After a year's residence at Luneburg, the Prince was removed to Hanover, where apartments were provided for him in one of the royal palaces.

"It is a change of scene,"—was his remark to a friend, with whom he was accustomed to dwell on the

strange passages of his early life,—"but with it came no remedy of existing evils. The same niggardly allowance was dealt out; the same system of *espionage* was carried on; my letters were intercepted; several never reached the King; he was displeased at my apparently undutiful silence; false representations were made to him respecting my conduct; I was described to him as recklessly extravagant. I had the means of being so, undoubtedly, on a guinea and a half a-week! Much of the estrangement between my royal parent and myself—much of the sorrow of my after life, may be ascribed to that most unwise and most uncalled for sojourn in the electorate."

True! but this summary, sweeping as it is, does not fully embrace the harvest of evil which thence arose.

In Germany, the soldier is not a man, but a machine; not a living, moving, breathing being, with hopes, desires, aspirations, and opinions of his own, but an automaton. He belongs, soul and body, to the State. He has no liberty of action—no choice—no opinions—no bias of his own. His creed is summed up in one word—"obedience;" and his deity is his commanding officer. He must believe as his commanding officer believes; and deny as his commanding officer denies. His very soul is in the keeping of his general. His life is one never-ending parade. He marks the successive stages of existence by drills. He is not a thinking, but a mechanical being. Thews and sinews to be sure has he: but each and all subordinate to

the motions of the fugleman. A man he is not, but a puppet.

Such the British soldier never can become. To attempt to make him succumb to the minutiæ attendant on the discipline of the German trooper, would be to ensure mutiny in the ranks. Admit this, and much that is contradictory in the Duke's career becomes at once intelligible. Do not Prince Edward's early education in Germany, and the notions he there imbibed of military discipline, account for the unpopularity which, for a time, rested on his name among the British soldiery? *But who was to blame?* And the lesson—is it not at hand and indisputable? *The British Prince must be trained and nurtured on British ground.*

Foreign maxims and foreign manners and foreign watchwords, sit ill on him who is a denizen of a free state, surrounded by free institutions, and maintained by a free people. To despotism in any guise, the Constitution of England is fatal. If the slave as soon as he leaps on its shores is free; so on its soil no autocrat can thrive.

"Power and liberty," aptly remarks Saville, "are like heat and moisture: where they are well mixed, every thing prospers; *where they are single, they are destructive.*"

CHAPTER III.

GENEVA—THRALDOM—COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRINCE'S PECUNIARY DIFFICULTIES—SUDDEN JOURNEY TO ENGLAND—HARSH TREATMENT FROM THE KING—THE BRIEF INTERVIEW AND FAREWELL.

1786—1789.

But the sojourn at Luneburg and Hanover was not wholly overshadowed with gloom. It was lit up with a passing ray of promotion. Amid his harassing and interminable drills the Prince learnt that on the 30th of May, 1786, he had been gazetted Colonel in the army by brevet. On the 3d of the following month he was elected Knight of the Garter. Luneburg and Hanover* were at last left in the distance. In October, 1787, the domicile of His Royal Highness was, by the King's command, transferred to Geneva:—

* Connected with his residence at the latter place, there is an anecdote, often repeated by himself, so brusque and characteristic, that its omission would be an injustice. It is best told in his own words:—"Being placed as a cadet at Hanover, the regiment on duty was discharged in the usual form; but the general commanding happened to forget to dismiss me, which was always accompanied with a distinct and peculiar ceremony. On this, I continued in a very uneasy position, and was actually forgotten for four hours, when at length the commanding officer rode up and apologized. I should have remained, but for this, at my post, until I had fainted with fatigue."

a welcome and most agreeable change. At Geneva he had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of several young English noblemen of the same age as himself. The charms of companionship there awaited him. The worth of youthful friendship was proffered to him. In the situation of the city itself there was much to interest him. Nowhere does nature appear more lovely or attractive than on the shores of Leman's lake. And marvellously fair is the city which is mirrored in its crystal waters. But the fable of Tantalus must often have been recalled to the royal sojourner's recollection, by his anomalous and trying position. His circumstances were painfully circumscribed. To the eldest son of many an unpretending country gentleman was meted out a far more liberal allowance than to a prince of the blood. Although the sum paid to the baron to maintain his royal pupil's establishment was now 6000*l.* per annum, the allowance for pocket-money to the party most deeply interested remained unaltered. It was still doled out after the rate of one guinea and half per week; and it is no exaggeration to say, that surrounded as the youthful soldier must have been, by associates far inferior to him in rank, but infinitely superior to him in point of command of money, his straitened allowance could not have been other than the source of daily and hourly mortifications.

Incredible as the fact may seem, it nevertheless admits of proof, that till the prince came to reside at

Geneva *he had not been master of any equipage, or even the possessor of a horse!*

No community of feeling could exist between himself and the baron. He had a governor instead of a tutor; a rigid master instead of a kind companion; a morose narrow-minded dictator instead of an amiable and friendly adviser. This man *received* the whole sum of money allotted for the Prince's maintenance, and the main study of his life was to *retain* it.

The results of this niggardly and wretched policy are clearly stated in the detail of His Royal Highness's case, published but a short time before his death by his express authority.*

"From not having any of those indulgences allowed him which other young Englishmen of his own age, with whom he was living, enjoyed, and who were the sons of private gentlemen, the duke incurred debts by borrowing money to procure them."

Those debts were a burden to him during the remainder of his life.

In truth, the inadequacy of his income, for many years, to support him in the style of living which, as a prince, he was called upon to adopt, was a perpetual and *unmerited* source of discomfort and disquiet.

Some letters written by His Royal Highness about this period, and which I have seen, sustain the painful impression too vividly entertained throughout life by the Prince, that of all George the Third's sons, he was the one to whose welfare the reigning monarch

* Appendix B.

was the most indifferent. One document in particular, which I have been permitted to read carefully—dated Geneva, June 8th, 1788—curiously corroborates this assertion.

After some observations about Geneva, its beauty, its climate, and his satisfaction at learning that the King wished him to remain there till the end of the ensuing winter, he begs permission to keep two horses, which number he will never exceed, "if that be the King's pleasure; *but I have so seldom found a gracious answer to any of the little trifling requests that I have made him, that* I am now very shy of asking, without being very certain of success. Wangenheim* assures me he had reported to the King my exact conformance."

Other annoyances, too, at Geneva were not wanting, of another, but not less galling description.

The valet placed about his person was a man of the name of Rhymers. This person, from various circumstances—foremost among them the superciliousness of his manner, and the pertinacious vigilance with which he scanned every movement of the Prince—became personally obnoxious to his master. He requested Rhymers' removal. The demand—nothing surely very unreasonable—was demurred to. Here lay the difficulty. Rhymers' occupation was to observe. He was charged with the strict *surveillance* of the Prince's movements; was useful to Baron Wangenheim; and the Baron was unwilling that his tool should retire. He writes† — the letter is curious, both in diction

* His Governor. † The date, Geneva, June 8, 1788.

and intent—most earnestly to General Grenville, then much in the King's confidence, touching the fortunes of this obnoxious menial—Rhymers. He states the Prince's wish to be rid of him, and his (the Baron's) anxiety that he should remain. He entreats General Grenville to write to the Prince, that on no account could he, General Grenville, mention it to the King, *Rhymers having been His Majesty's choice.*

But even on this point, the kind-heartedness of the young Prince peeps out.

Much as he desired Rhymers' absence, he earnestly deprecated his ruin. And while in a letter to General Grenville, he presses anxiously for the valet's removal, "hopes the General will take care to cause his dismissal without ruining the man for life."

He was then in his nineteenth year; but the humane consideration of the youth was only matured into the benevolent feeling of the man. His retainers at Kensington had all grown grey in his service. On his marriage with the Duchess, in 1818, his porter had lived with him twenty-eight years!

Wearied out by the petty and perpetual espionage to which he was subjected; thwarted on most occasions, right or wrong, by the Baron; chafed by the ever-recurring annoyances arising from the position he had to maintain, and the stinted allowance assigned him, the Duke resolved on visiting England. Written remonstrances he found were unavailing. A personal appeal might be more successful. He was now of age, and entitled to an impartial hearing.

In January, 1790, the young Prince made his appearance in London. So unexpected was his arrival, that neither the King nor any member of the royal family had the slightest knowledge of his intention to quit Geneva. He reached town in the night and took up his quarters at an hotel in King Street, St. James's. Thence intimation of his arrival was conveyed to the Prince of Wales, who immediately paid him a visit and brought him to Carlton House. Here the brothers were joined by the Duke of York, by whom intelligence of the event was communicated to the King. His Majesty's displeasure was extreme and unappeasable. To every extenuating circumstance suggested in Prince Edward's favour by his brothers—and it is well known that on this occasion their conduct was most disinterested and affectionate—the King replied, "Edward has quitted his post without leave; he is now in England without my cognizance or consent. His presence here is an act of the most daring and deliberate disobedience: and you call on me to sanction it!"

To induce the King to take a more indulgent view of the subject, neither entreaties nor arguments were wanting. In vain. His Majesty's mind was made up. He had come to a decision. And that decision was irrevocable.

If, after his long exile abroad, the young Prince had cherished hopes of remaining some short time in the bosom of his family,—of cultivating his early friendships, and gaining an intimate knowledge, by personal

survey, of the land which gave him birth—those hopes were doomed to very sudden extinction.

A sojourn in England of ten days was all that was permitted him!

Before the termination of that brief interval, His Royal Highness received peremptory orders to embark for Gibraltar—at the short notice of twenty-four hours. He was at the same time given to understand that this mandate was a mark of royal displeasure.

Another view of the transaction is presented from a party whose MS. was submitted to the inspection and correction of the illustrious personage most deeply concerned:—

"The Duke arrived suddenly and unexpectedly in London. After so long an absence, nature and duty urged him to present himself to the King and his relations. Justice and necessity also required him to call the King's attention to his pecuniary wants. During a tedious and cruel space of thirteen days, he sought every opportunity to see the King, but in vain. On the 13th day, he received an official paper, sealed. His heart now fluttered with the joy of meeting his royal parent and his mother; he opened it with the utmost impatience, and read with sorrow a peremptory order to embark for Gibraltar within twenty-four hours. On the night before his departure, he was admitted to the King's presence for five minutes, to say 'hail! and farewell!' On the 1st of February, 1790, he quitted England with the insignificant sum

of 500*l.*, which had been advanced to Brigadier-General then Captain Crawford.

"It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the chagrin, anxiety, and grief, which would be the companions of his sad voyage to Gibraltar. It is not easy to realize the affliction of a most affectionate son who, after an absence of nearly six years, could obtain but ONE interview with his parent—*for five minutes*—and then only as a prelude to another and protracted separation."

These feelings, too, would be aggravated by the reflection that he had not had either opportunity or possibility of laying open those embarrassments which had been *forced* upon him, or of supplicating the King to grant him the necessary outfit and establishment for his new station. He could derive no consolation from his present circumstances, and he was ignorant of the future. He did not receive with his orders one single sentence to soothe, to cheer, or to satisfy him as to what his stated allowance would be when he should arrive at his destination! Such was the reception and such the treatment measured out to the Duke of Kent. In such a state of anguish, uncertainty and anxiety, he was commanded to quit England.

Now, when one recalls the numerous escapades of his elder brother, the Prince of Wales—the debts which that expensive gentleman contracted, and which were again and again defrayed by the nation—the messages which, in rather rapid succession, came down to Parliament, relative to the pecuniary difficulties,

perplexities, and embarrassments of the first gentleman in Europe—the manner in which he more than once contravened the royal authority and was forgiven—hard measure seems to have been dealt out to the youthful Edward.

If—as there are ample grounds for believing—his journey to England was prompted mainly by his ardent desire to provide for his pecuniary engagements, and personally to represent his position to the King, his departure from Geneva without previous permission, resolves itself into a somewhat venial offence. The good old King might surely have forgiven it. In truth, from the simplicity of his own tastes and mode of life,—from the circumstance of his early accession to the throne,—and from the fact *of his never having been himself placed in situations similar to that of his sons*, the reigning monarch was of all men the most incompetent judge as to what the wants of a young prince really were. Peace to his venerated memory! A nation justly loved and honoured him. But he was somewhat too stern and inexorable a judge, where the conduct of his fourth and ablest son was concerned.

It is fatal policy in a family, be it that of a sovereign or a subject, for parents to have favourites. An inevitable harvest of discord and jealousy must arise from the plan of passing over lightly the vices of one child, and marking with stern severity the errors in judgment of another. That is sure to be a disunited household where one son, from grace of person

or glozing tongue, is made the favourite; and another, from his frank demeanour, inability to flatter, and undissembled love of truth, is made the scapegoat.

Sensible, though homely, is the Norwegian proverb: "*In the parent nest* the old bird's wings should screen and shelter ALL ALIKE!"

CHAPTER IV.

GIBRALTAR—PRINCE EDWARD'S POPULARITY THERE—THE ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN IN HIS HONOUR.

1790—1791.

ONE of the first results attendant on this appointment, and abrupt departure to Gibraltar, was *an immediate and heavy addition to the Prince's difficulties.*

None concerned themselves either to provide for him an outfit, or to furnish him with the means of providing an *adequate* one for himself.

The sagacity of the worldly wise is wondrous. They are duly careful to herd with the fortunate, and to shun the unsuccessful. The Prince was under the ban of the Court. Any connexion with his fortunes was therefore undesirable. The safest policy was to allow him to shift for himself.

He was thus compelled to provide his first outfit for house-keeping at an enormous expense, from being obliged to purchase it in a colony rather than in the mother country, he never having been before possessed of a single article for that purpose of any sort or description.

One satisfaction he possessed—he was rid of the Baron. Governor Wangenheim could fret and worry

him no more. He was placed under the tutelage of another and far more generous and manly spirit. Colonel Symes was deputed by General O'Hara—in command at Gibraltar—to take the Prince under his especial superintendence. Letters from the Colonel are still in existence, attesting how faithfully, yet kindly, this responsible trust was fulfilled.

In a communication, bearing date Gibraltar, May 20, 1790, Colonel Symes thus alludes to his landing at Gibraltar, — "found the Prince well, though not too well pleased with his situation here—on my arrival." Pecuniary matters are then adverted to; and relief is sought for the Prince, by begging that some bills drawn on Coutts to the Prince's credit may be accepted by the Keeper of the Privy Purse at home. Another letter from the Colonel, dated Gibraltar, May 21, dwells in detail on the Prince's difficulties, and states that His Royal Highness has written to the King, requesting to be enabled to discharge the debts now increased. He (Colonel Symes) thinks it would be equally wise and liberal to grant the Prince's request, and extricate him from his embarrassments. A most important admission follows:—"*The Prince's general conduct has been perfectly to the satisfaction of General O'Hara, and has met* THE APPROBATION OF THE WHOLE GARRISON."

In another letter, dated Gibraltar, Nov. 28, 1790, in allusion to his royal charge, the Colonel writes, the removal of Prince Edward "will *be a real misfortune;* and I should hold myself unworthy the confidence

with which I have been honoured, if I did not declare that whatever advantage the Prince may, and I trust in future will, derive from his instruction and residence here—to General O'Hara he will have been indebted for it."

These allusions derive importance from subsequent events, and the conclusions drawn by certain parties at home to the Prince's injury. He, enthusiastically attached from boyhood to the profession of arms, entered with delight on the discharge of his military duties at Gibraltar, having been appointed Colonel of the 7th regiment of foot, or Royal Fusileers, vacant by the removal of the Hon. Major-General Gordon to the 71st regiment. The Fusileers at that time formed a part of the garrison under General O'Hara. The ideas of military discipline which the Prince had imbibed during his early and ill-advised sojourn in Germany were now fully carried out. He *then* was impressed with the conviction—he abandoned it in after life—that the most strict and rigid discipline could alone form the soldier. Perhaps he *then* attached too great importance to trifles. This may be affirmed with greater certainty, viz. that he was himself too good a soldier and too benevolent a man to be severe for the mere sake of showing his authority. But his notions of discipline rendered him unpopular with the men. Representations relative to the dissatisfaction prevalent in the Fusileers were made at home; and the result was that His Royal Highness was ordered to embark with his regiment for America.

But that same determination of character and unflinching discipline which rendered him unpopular with his troops, obtained for him a high degree of respect from military men as a commander.

The following account gives us some idea of the regard in which he was held by his brother officers. It is from the pen of a British officer, and is taken from one of the accredited journals of the day.

"Gibraltar, June 3d, 1791.

"I promised you an account of anything remarkable that occurred in this fortress. I now redeem my pledge. The very evening of my arrival in H.M.S. *Resistance*, in company with H.M.S. *Ulysses*, Gibraltar presented a scene new not only in this part of Europe, but rarely witnessed even in the most populous cities. I allude to the *fête* given on that evening to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, on his departure for Canada. The account is drawn up by Captain Fyers, of the Royal Engineers, well known to many military men in England for his services in America. He was the projector of that part of the entertainment given in the ruinous barrack, which was fitted up by him after his own design.

"The entertainment cost 1,800 dollars, or about 250*l.* sterling; and the expense of converting the ruinous barrack into a supper-room amounted to 800 dollars, or about 112*l.* sterling; both together causing an outlay of only two guineas to each officer, an offering made with the utmost alacrity upon this occa-

sion, where the object was to testify their respect and attachment to their Sovereign and his family, in the person of their royal guest, as well as their esteem and regard for His Royal Highness himself, their comrade and fellow-soldier."

"Gibraltar, May 30.

"In a corner of Europe so remote from England as this, we are strangely puzzled for the unfavourable representations said to have been circulated there relative to His Royal Highness Prince Edward; *we*, however, *know* that these rumours can only find credit amongst those who are strangers to his character. His conduct, whilst here, has been most meritorious; and, were we to inquire what young man in Gibraltar has shown himself to be the most *attentive* and *diligent* in the discharge of his public duties, as well as the most *regular* and *temperate* in his private hours, the answer must be 'Prince Edward.' That he possesses the art of conciliating the affections of his brother-officers, was proved by the compliment paid him previous to his departure for Canada. They had resolved, as a mark of their attachment to, and respect for, His Royal Highness, to give him a ball and supper; for the conducting of which each corps deputed an officer. The *Hôtel de l'Europe* being fixed on for the place, a temporary communication was contrived between that and the ruins of an adjacent barrack, which was admirably fitted up for the supper-room, at the expense of the subscribers. The ball-room, in

itself an extremely handsome apartment, was decorated with the colours of no less than *ten* regiments, and was crowded with company a little after eight o'clock. It was a happy coincidence that the ships destined to carry the Prince and his regiment to Quebec, arrived, with a considerable number of officers from England, on the very day appointed for this entertainment. The whole of the officers of the British navy and army here, those of the Dutch and Portuguese squadrons, and all the ladies in the place, were present. The various costumes,—the gay uniforms of the different regiments, and the attire of the belles, made up altogether a very brilliant assembly. His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by all the field-officers, waited on His Royal Highness at his quarters, attended him to the hotel, and forming a guard of honour round him, entered the ball-room at half-past eight. The dancing continued till twelve, when the Prince and Sir Robert Boyd, preceded by the managers, and followed by the rest of the company, repaired to the supper-room; and the astonishment then visible in each countenance at the unexpected magnificence of the spectacle, was general and almost laughable. A select band of fifty musicians played a grand march as the royal guest moved on towards a canopy of state, at the upper end of the apartment. The room, decorated with extreme good taste, was 110 feet long, 27 feet wide, and 24 feet high: the company descended from a flight of steps 9 feet wide, under a lofty arch, into the room; by which means, at one glance the

whole array of the supper-tables was brought into view. These were calculated to accommodate 240 persons. Another supper-room was elsewhere. The canopy under which the Prince sat was cleverly constructed, and covered with pink silk and silver ornaments. On the top was the figure of Fame, holding in her left hand a St. George's ensign, which reached to the roof of the room. On the back of the seat was placed the Prince's coronet, large, and properly gilded; over which, and immediately beneath the canopy, was an illuminated representation of the rising sun. The niches on each side of the canopy were filled, the one by Minerva, in an attitude of inviting the Prince's attention to Fame above him; the other by Victory preparing a laurel crown. When the guests were seated, the room presented a very motley, but brilliant gathering. The supper was costly, and had more, both of abundance and variety, than this seemingly inhospitable rock might be supposed capable of affording.

'Earth, sea, and air,
Were *this* day ransack'd for their bill of fare.'—GAY.

"Although Ceres and Bacchus poured forth their stores in abundance, yet Prudence presided; for, perhaps, there scarcely ever was an instance of such a number of young men being collected, with a predetermination of conviviality, who passed a night with so much decorum; nor of so large a company being assembled where every individual was pleased and happy. The festivity of the scene was considerably

heightened by vocal and instrumental music, extremely well performed; among the former was the accompanying song, written upon the occasion, and admirably given by one of the singing-boys belonging to the Queen's regiment of foot. One feeling seemed to animate the whole company, the only contest being who should do most honour to the illustrious guest, and display most both their personal regard for him, and their affectionate and zealous attachment to his royal father and family.

"On the 13th of May, Sir Robert Boyd gave out the following acknowledgment from his Royal Highness in general orders:—

"'His Royal Highness Prince Edward having requested of Sir Robert Boyd to express, in the fullest manner possible, his Royal Highness's warmest thanks to the whole of the officers of this garrison who gave him the *fête* of the 11th instant; Sir Robert Boyd, in compliance with the Prince's wishes, has thought proper, by putting it in Public Orders, to assure himself of every officer being acquainted how flattering to his Royal Highness this mark of their attachment to him has been, and how sincerely he wishes them all to be acquainted with it.'"

Song sung at the Entertainment given by the Officers of the Garrison of Gibraltar to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, May 11, 1791.

"Ascending Calpé's stately brow,
We see sweet flow'rs spontaneous grow;
As these their mingling scents disclose,
The rocky steeps their horror lose:

Regaled, we turn our eyes to view
The distant landscape's purple hue,
The liquid plain's transparent bound,
And scenes for warlike deeds renown'd.
War's rugged paths have also flow'rs—
Gay mirth, and song, and festive hours;
And from the steep ascent to fame,
The prospect of a glorious name.
See, o'er yon western mountain's shade,
The evening's blushing radiance fade!
So fades our joy round Calpé's brow,
For Royal EDWARD *leaves us now!*
'Twas he who taught us how to bear
The soldier's toil, the leader's care;
Yet cheer'd fatigue with festive hours,
And strew'd war's rugged path with flow'rs.
Ye breezes, safely waft him o'er,
To brave the cold Canadian shore!
To spread afar his rising fame,
And make his own a glorious name!"

CHAPTER V.

ACTIVE SERVICE—THE WEST INDIES—THE PRINCE'S GALLANTRY IN ACTION — HIGHLY COMMENDED BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF — RECEIVES THE THANKS OF PARLIAMENT.

1791—1794.

THE change from the gaiety and good fellowship of Gibraltar to the confinement and monotony of ship-board might not be agreeable; but nevertheless had to be undergone. In May, 1791, the Prince and his regiment were enduring the miseries of a floating prison bound for Quebec. Again was he made to wince under the petty but torturing annoyances inseparable from the paltry pecuniary arrangements made for him, and the position he was compelled to maintain.

No regular allowance had been assigned him at Gibraltar. During his fifteen months' residence in that expensive domicile, his debts had undergone a sensible increase:—arising partly from the necessity of providing his outfit *there* instead of in England; partly from the inadequacy of his income to meet the many claims made upon him as Colonel of a regiment on foreign service; and partly from the ever-recurring appeals to his generosity and compassion addressed to him as a prince of the blood—appeals to which he

could never bring himself to return a discouraging answer. Add to this, he was grossly misled with regard to his allowance. An income of 6,000*l.* per annum had been assigned him when he was several years younger; and on the continuance of this sum at least he felt he might with certainty calculate. No intimation was given him to the contrary. Not a syllable was whispered to undeceive him: but after he had been eighteen months at Gibraltar he learned to his infinite chagrin that his allowance had been fixed at 5,000*l.* per annum, and that any modification of that arrangement was impracticable.

His trials were peculiar. The sum of 6,000*l.* had been paid to Baron Wangenheim at Geneva for the expenses of His Royal Highness's establishment—at Geneva, where he had no public character to maintain,—where his position was that of semi-pupil, semi-traveller,—where he was under the complete control of his governor, and could be expected to keep up no state and give no entertainments. At Gibraltar, the Prince, with a definite public position to maintain, with private and professional claims upon him on all sides, was expected to manage with *one thousand less!* If ever king's son had reason to complain of *a thorough want of consideration* systematically manifested towards him in the outset of life, Prince Edward was he.

But the soundness of his principles and the integrity of his character were at once developed by this bitter disappointment. He forthwith commenced arrangements for satisfying his creditors as far as he had the

power so to do, by giving bonds to them for sums amounting in the whole to 20,000*l.*, payable at the expiration of seven years.

He decided on this course under the impression—an impression which the precedents of his brothers the Dukes of York and Clarence fully justified—that long before the arrival of that period he should obtain his parliamentary establishment, and from it be enabled to cancel these bonds, the interest of which was in the meanwhile to be paid quarterly—a stipulation faithfully carried out, but which ran away with one-fifth of his income.

The debt incurred at Gibraltar the King subsequently undertook to discharge. *The promise was never fulfilled.*

Finding his position as a prince and a field-officer utterly incompatible with his limited means, and that his difficulties were daily on the increase,—anxious moreover to be engaged in active service, he received, at his own request, in December, 1793, an appointment to serve under Sir Charles Grey, who was then engaged in the reduction of the French West India Islands.

To lessen, though he could not cancel, his debts, he was under the necessity of selling everything he had at Gibraltar, and of purchasing anew at Quebec the articles he required for his establishment. That this would be done under the greatest disadvantage, so far from home, and when every article had to be bought on credit at an enormous price, is self-evident. The sacrifice was costly, but most cheerfully made.

The Prince quitted Gibraltar with an equipment much less than that of a field-officer of a regiment!

At the time His Royal Highness received the order to join Sir Charles Grey, all communication by water was cut off. The navigation by the St. Lawrence had been closed. And the ferment, created in the minds of the Americans from the captures made by British cruisers of their merchantmen, rendered it extremely hazardous for the Prince to attempt joining Sir Charles by passing through the United States.

These difficulties, however, were not sufficient to *damp the ardour* of the Soldier. Immediately on receiving the order, January, 1794, and *before his instructions could be made public,* His Royal Highness quitted Quebec for the purpose of travelling through the United States, and embarking at Boston. So extremely perilous was the Prince's journey at this season, that in crossing Lake Champlain on the ice, two of the sledges conveying His Royal Highness's equipage broke in and were totally lost. Fortunately soon after his arrival at Boston a sailing packet carrying eight guns and forty men came into harbour, in which packet His Royal Highness instantly started for the West Indies. In the course of the voyage the vessel was more than once chased by privateers, which there was every reason to believe belonged to the enemy. Prince Edward, however, reached the army in safety, and was most cordially welcomed by Sir Charles and his staff.

The expedition which the Prince had orders to join, had been so far successful in the reduction of Martinique, before his arrival, on the 4th of March, 1794, as to have subjected the whole island to the British arms, with the exception of the two important stations at Fort Royal and Fort Bourbon. An honourable post was immediately assigned him; and in the first despatch of Sir Charles Grey, from the invaded island, he is described as "commanding at Camp la Coste, with great spirit and activity." *

During the progress of this campaign, his daring bravery procured him the general admiration of his companions in arms. He headed the flank division at the storming of several strong and important forts in Martinique and Guadaloupe; and so brilliant were its exploits, that "*The Flank Corps*" became a standing toast, as well at the admiral's table, as at that of the commander-in-chief.

From Martinique the Prince proceeded to St. Lucia, where the same gallant spirit led him to expose himself to so much personal danger, as to draw upon him a flattering rebuke from his commander-in-chief, whilst it raised him in the estimation of his brother officers, and obtained for him an extraordinary degree of popularity among the soldiers. Sir Charles Grey upon this occasion wrote home to His Majesty, communicating to him the gallant conduct of his son; but at the same time representing that he conceived his

* Appendix C.

life to be in great danger, unless he was restrained from exposing it as he had done. He here commanded the battalion of grenadiers, which—disembarked at Marigot des Roseaux, under the immediate direction of Vice-Admiral Sir John Jervis, (afterwards Earl St. Vincent,) the naval commander of the expedition—co-operated with the division of Major-General Dundas, in the attack of Morne Fortunée, conducting themselves in that affair in so exemplary a manner, under the immediate command of His Royal Highness, as to entitle them to particular notice in the despatch of the commander-in-chief. When *their daring leader had himself hoisted* the British colours on this post, its name was changed into "Fort Charlotte," in honour of his royal mother; and the conquest of the entire island was soon after accomplished, without the loss of a single man, though the troops were exposed to a heavy fire from the enemy's batteries and works.

At the capture of Guadaloupe, in the following month of April, the Prince led on the first division, consisting of the first and second battalions of grenadiers, and 100 of the naval battalion, to the attack of the post on Morne Marcot; which was performed with such exactitude, spirit, and ability, "as," in the language of Sir Charles Grey, "to do the officer who commanded it, and every officer and soldier under him. more honour than he could find words to convey an adequate idea of, or to express the high sense which he entertained of their extraordinary merit on the occasion."

On the 20th of May, 1794, a vote passed the House of Commons, without a dissentient voice; directing the Speaker to convey to His Royal Highness, and to the several other officers of the army under the command of Sir Charles Grey, the thanks of the House for their gallant conduct and meritorious exertions in the West Indies. A similar vote of thanks was as unanimously passed in the Lords, upon the same day, and ordered to be signified by the Lord Chancellor to the Commander-in-chief of the army which had thus honourably distinguished itself. On the 18th of January in the following year, the same honour was conferred upon him by a unanimous vote of the Irish House of Commons. Upon this last named incident it may be advisable to dwell, and remark distinctly, that with reference to the glorious trophy of being honoured with the thanks of Parliament, the Duke of Kent was *the only member of the Royal Family* who received that enviable distinction for ACTUAL SERVICES *rendered in the field.*

His privations are sufficiently indicated by the fact, that when he arrived at Martinique he was destitute of all but the clothes upon his person.

His bravery formed the subject of a special representation to the King by the General commanding in chief.

Where danger was greatest the Duke of Kent was to be found.

Where the battle raged with the fiercest fury His Roaly Highness was sure to be present.

He never loitered five or ten miles in rear of the conflict, nor arrived *a day too late* to perform his duty! He *led* every man to his post; AND NEVER DESERTED HIS OWN.

On reaching this point in the life of the Prince considerable insight is given into the amount of injustice and neglect perseveringly heaped upon him. How happened it that at this period when his services were fresh in the recollection of the country, and when opposition would have been vain, some proposal for his benefit was not submitted to Parliament? A more favourable opportunity could scarcely have presented itself for creating him a peer, and obtaining for him, unopposed, his parliamentary provision.

His position was unassailable.

His military chief, Sir Charles Grey, had made special mention to the King of his gallantry and good conduct. With the troops he was a favourite. To them his daring bravery was an irresistible recommendation. Youth could not be urged against him, for he had reached the manly age of twenty-seven. Nor could a proposal for his parliamentary allowance be open to the charge of "favouritism," or "undue preference," since his eldest brother, the Duke of York, obtained *his* provision from the country at the age of *twenty-one*, and the Duke of Clarence at the age of *twenty-four*. To the latter, indeed, had been granted in addition, no less than 16,000*l.**

* 10,000*l.* for the formation of an establishment for his outset in life; and in the year 1796, pecuniary assistance to the amount of 6,000*l.*

of the public money. These "facts and figures" prove the extraordinary injustice meted out to Prince Edward. The daring commander, the popular soldier, the obedient and actively employed son, was left to bear, as best he might, the degradation and annoyance inseparable from inadequate income and increasing embarrassments. Not an effort was made for his release. Even definite promises were forgotten. The Gibraltar debt still pressed heavily on his burdened resources; though the King himself had pledged his royal word he would defray it.

Whence this insensibility to his position? Whence this indifference to his interests? The obstacle? What was its nature? And with whom did it rest?

Was it that there existed an idea that his principles were in advance of those of his family? Was it that he was suspected of being friendly to liberal policy, and enlightened views of government? Or can the startling expression in one of his most melancholy letters—a letter written evidently when writhing under wounded feelings—a letter which I am permitted to allude to, not transcribe—have its foundation in fact, not in fancy? "The West Indies! The wish entertained about me, in certain quarters, when serving there, was *that I might fall.*"

'Tis a painful problem. Best, perhaps, that the solution should never be given.

CHAPTER VI.

IN COMMAND—HALIFAX—JUDGE HALLIBURTON'S PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF THE PRINCE—TOUCHING ANECDOTE OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS—GAMING; AND THE RESCUED OFFICER.

1795—1799.

THE campaign of 1794 having been brought to a close, His Royal Highness received orders to return to North America. Being there placed upon the staff, the expense of a fourth outfit became inevitable. Of this, as of his three preceding equipments, he was left to bear the cost. His previous expenses in the West Indies had necessarily been very heavy. He had been obliged to keep a table for himself and staff in a locality where the necessaries of life, at all times costly, reached, during an invasion and a state of active warfare, a famine price. That his debts should, under these circumstances, rapidly accumulate, can be no matter of surprise.

Other sources of serious annoyance were not wanting. Equipment after equipment was lost. Of some the cost was two, of the last, *ten* thousand pounds. Shipwreck, capture by enemies' cruisers, plunder by the sailors of a hostile power, were evils with which, in rapid succession, he had to combat.

Placed in a tabular form, it will at once be seen how much, under the head of losses, the Prince had to try his

temper and depress his energies. With truth it may be said, that "such a combination of distressful and desolating events would have benumbed the faculties of some men, and driven others to despair."

EQUIPMENTS.

The First.—January 1790, on occasion of his being ordered to Gibraltar at forty-eight hours' notice; such equipment having to be provided, in consequence of such brief notice, at Gibraltar (*and at Gibraltar prices*), instead of in London; a necessity which unquestionably trebled the cost of the outfit.

The Second.—May 1791, at Quebec, on his being removed from Gibraltar to Canada; compelled, in order to defray his debts at Gibraltar, to sell his equipment *there*, and obliged, by obvious necessity, to purchase, *on credit*, a fresh equipment in Canada.

The Third.—Dec. 1793, on his being appointed to the expedition engaged in the reduction of the French West India Islands: obliged to dispose of his existing equipment, partly because too heavy for marching order, partly that he might be able to satisfy the most pressing of his North-American creditors, and partly that he might possess the means of furnishing himself with a lighter equipment: this was done; and, unhappily, lost in crossing Lake Champlain upon the ice. The third equipment being thus summarily disposed of, a stinted and temporary supply of necessaries was procured at Boston, which accompanied His Royal Highness to the West Indies; but the campaign there

being closed, and the Prince ordered to return to North America with a staff appointment—

A Fourth, in 1794, became necessary, which was ordered from England to replace that lost in Lake Champlain. This—its cost was 2,000*l.*—was sent out in the *Antelope*. This vessel was captured by a squadron of French frigates; and the outfit became, as a matter of course, the spoil of the captors.

A Fifth (1795), was indispensable, and shipped accordingly on board the *Tankerville*. This vessel, like the *Antelope*, was captured by the enemy; and another loss of 2,000*l.* was sustained. Being raised to the grade of Lieutenant-General and made Commander of the forces at Halifax, his elevation in rank induced the Prince to order from England—

A Sixth equipment, which, being shipped on board the *Recovery* transport, had the misfortune to fall with her into the hands of the enemy. The total loss sustained thus far, for equipments alone, was not less than 10,000*l.* But being raised (May 1799) to the rank of General in the army, and appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British North America, he ventured upon ordering from England—

A Seventh equipment. This—more costly than any of its predecessors, its value amounting to 11,000*l.**—was most injudiciously and thoughtlessly sent out as

* Besides these equipments, he lost in the *Francis* transport a valuable library of upwards of 5,000 volumes; a large assortment of maps and plans collected on the continent; and a good stock of wine.

late as the month of October, and wrecked upon Table Island. Every soul on board perished; and the ocean swallowed her and her whole cargo.

The extraordinary combination of untoward circumstances, thus summarily enumerated, may be pronounced, in the military life of one and the self-same individual, to be without precedent or parallel. One would despair of fixing belief, if the long course of calamities here stated were not capable of proof. Their tendency was inevitable—to involve the Prince still further in debt. The result—could it be otherwise?—was this: His Royal Highness quitted North America far more seriously embarrassed than when he reached it.

The former event unexpected circumstances served to hasten.

In October, 1798, the Prince had the misfortune to meet with an accident from his horse falling with him in the streets of Halifax, in bringing him home from a field-day of the garrison. For the benefit of surgical advice he returned to England; and in the following year, in consequence of a message sent down to the House of Commons by the King,* a bill was passed, and received the Royal Assent,† granting him his first parliamentary income of 12,000*l.* per annum. He had then reached his thirty-second year. His next brother, the Duke of Cumberland, *though four years younger*, received his parliamentary grant to the same amount the self-same day!

* March 1. † March 21.

There never was an act of greater injustice, nor a proposition which, having for its ostensible object the permanent benefit of one of the King's family, involved a greater amount of ingratitude for his past services, and indifference for the difficulties with which it was well known he was encumbered.

It requires but the operation of a very simple rule in arithmetic to show, that by the postponement of his parliamentary allowance the country was, on every principle of equity, the Duke's debtor to the amount of 48,000*l*. Either this was the case, or his younger brother, Prince Ernest, had received his parliamentary provision four years too soon, and was therefore a debtor to the country in the like sum.

Equally difficult would it be to assign a *valid* reason why such a broad and marked distinction should be made among the King's sons—that some should receive their parliamentary establishment at the age of twenty-one, and others at the age of thirty-two.

But a shrewd guess can be hazarded why of all the King's sons Prince Edward's claims were purposely and invidiously kept in abeyance.

His political views were in advance of those maintained by his family. He was known to be one of the friends of the people—a lover of constitutional liberty —no bigot in his religion—and liberal and tolerant in the view he took of the creed of others.

Such a man—more especially, if to talents as a speaker and great activity of disposition, he added unvarying firmness and independence of character—

ministers would be reluctant to place in the House of Lords. There he would be too formidable a foe. And from their knowledge of Prince Edward's principles and bearing, an ally, they were well convinced, they should never find him. Hence the protracted and painful neglect he was doomed to experience. It could not have arisen from accident: it was too continuous, decided, and marked.

Prince William Henry had in his twenty-fourth year been created Duke of Clarence and St. Andrew; but Prince Edward was far advanced towards his thirty-third year, when on St. George's Day, 1799, he was raised to the dignity of Duke of Kent and Strathearne in Great Britain, and Earl of Dublin in Ireland.

On the 7th of May in the same year, 1799, he took his seat in the House of Lords; on the 10th of the same month he was promoted to the rank of General in the army; and on the 17th was appointed successor to General Prescott, as Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British North America. Thither he proceeded in July; and from Government, on this occasion, he experienced more liberality than he had ever before met with at their hands. They presented him with 2,000*l.* towards an outfit. It is true their bounty proved abortive, for the equipment it helped to furnish perished in the waters; but this was the first instance of consideration—the first act of recognition of his *losses* or *services*—which he met with at their hands.

His administration of the government of British North America lasted not long, for in the autumn a very severe bilious attack, followed by symptoms of confirmed lassitude and debility, rendered it necessary that he should obtain leave of absence and return to England.

But the duration of his government had been sufficiently extended to endear him to all classes. The people were delighted with his accessibility, his dignified but easy manners, his uniform and kindly courtesy; the poor hailed him a compassionate and most generous benefactor; the military were proud of him as a thorough soldier; while his singular aptitude for business, his regularity, punctuality, and prompt discharge of all his official duties, won for him the unqualified approbation of the Executive Assembly.

Those who have met in the course of their reading,—and who has not?—the oft-repeated calumny, that "he was unqualified to rule," should heed the insight given into the Duke's character by the accompanying official documents.

They attest the affectionate regard in which the people whom he governed held him. They are evidence of the estimate they formed of him as a man as well as a prince—of his worth in his private as well as public capacity. Comment on such documents were absurd.

The first address was voted him in June, 1798, a few months previous to the accident which compelled him to return temporarily to England.

Extracts from the Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia for 1798 *and* 1799.

"*June* 30, 1798.—On motion of Mr. Uniacké,

"*Resolved,*—That an humble address be presented to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, to beg that he will be pleased to accept from the province of Nova Scotia a Star, as a testimony of the high respect which the province has for His Royal Highness's person, *as well as the grateful sense it entertains of the very essential services* which His Royal Highness has rendered to this province.

"*Resolved,*—That the Treasurer of the province be authorized to pay into the hands of a joint Committee of His Majesty's Council and this House, to be appointed for that purpose, the sum of five hundred guineas, to enable them to purchase, with the approbation of his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, a Star suitable for a personage of His Royal Highness's exalted station; which Star his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and the said Committee, are hereby authorized to present to His Royal Highness *in the name and on the behalf of this province.*

"*Resolved,*—That the foregoing Resolutions be sent to His Majesty's Council for their concurrence, and that His Majesty's Council be requested to join with this House in the Address to His Royal Highness.

"*Resolved,*—That a Committee be appointed for the purpose of preparing a suitable Address to His Royal Highness; and that the same, when agreed to by

the House, be sent for approbation to His Majesty's Council.

"*Resolved*,—That the before-mentioned Committee wait on his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to present him with a copy of the foregoing Resolutions, and humbly to beg that his Excellency will be pleased, *at the head of both branches of the Legislature*, to present to His Royal Highness the humble Address of the province of Nova Scotia."

A MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL.

"The Council having read and considered the several Resolutions of the House of Assembly, relative to the grant of the sum of five hundred guineas to be laid out in the purchase of a Star for His Royal Highness, and of the sense which the Legislature entertains of *the many essential benefits which the province has derived from him*, it was thereupon resolved that the Council do UNANIMOUSLY concur with the House of Assembly in their Resolutions."

"*July* 2, 1798.—Mr. Wallace reported from the Committee of His Majesty's Council that they had, pursuant to the order of the House, waited on his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and delivered to him a copy of the said Resolutions; that his Excellency was pleased to express his entire approbation of the subject-matter thereof, and that his Excellency also assured the Committee he would most cheerfully concur

in any measures that might be necessary to carry into effect the wishes of His Majesty's Council and this House on the occasion."

ADDRESS.

"To Lieutenant-General His Royal Highness Prince Edward, commanding His Majesty's forces in the province of Nova Scotia, the Islands of St. John, Cape Breton and Newfoundland, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and of the most illustrious Order of St. Patrick, &c. &c. &c.

"The Address of Sir John Wentworth, Bart., LL.D., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, and of His Majesty's Council and House of Assembly, in their legislative capacities now convened at Halifax.

"The Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Assembly, *in the name and behalf of the province of Nova Scotia,* humbly beg leave to approach your Royal Highness, to repeat the unfeigned assurance of their inviolable fidelity, attachment, and affection to the sacred person of our beloved Sovereign, his family and government.

"His Majesty's paternal solicitude for the safety and happiness of his subjects in this province, is particularly manifested by his committing the care of protecting and defending them to your Royal Highness in so critical a conjuncture as the present.

"Your Royal Highness's military talents and eminent abilities, invariably directed to the good order and the honour of His Majesty's crown and government, have secured to us the advantages of peace in the midst of a war which has desolated a large proportion of the rest of the world.

"THE ESSENTIAL SERVICES *which your Royal Highness has rendered to this province* will be remembered with gratitude by us, and cannot fail to interest His Majesty's subjects most sincerely in your future glory and happiness; and while we take pleasure in doing justice to your Royal Highness's exemplary conduct and virtues, we shall rejoice in the satisfaction they will afford to our good and gracious Sovereign, whose piety, justice, wisdom, and magnanimity, have riveted to his throne the hearts and affections of all his people.

"In the hope that your Royal Highness would be induced *to receive from the province some mark of its gratitude and affection,* the Legislature has unanimously appointed a Committee, with instructions to provide and present a Star, which they humbly request you will be pleased to accept, as a testimony of the attachment they have to your Royal Highness, and of the sense they entertain of the signal benefits which the province has derived from your unremitted zeal and attention to preserve the quiet and security of the country, and the comfort of its inhabitants, by the vigilance, discipline, and order maintained over His Majesty's troops under your Royal Highness's immediate command."

"A message from His Majesty's Council, acquainting the House that the Council had agreed to the joint Address to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, as sent up by this House.

"*July* 6, 1849.—A message from his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor by Mr. Secretary Wentworth.

"Mr. SPEAKER,—I am commanded by His Excellency to acquaint this House, that His Excellency having communicated to His Royal Highness Prince Edward the subject of the joint address of the Legislature to His Royal Highness, with a request to know his pleasure, when he would be attended by the Legislature with the same, His Royal Highness had appointed to-morrow at one of the clock, at Government House."

"The joint address of the Legislature of Nova Scotia having been presented to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, Mr. Speaker reported, that His Royal Highness was pleased to give this answer:—

"I feel infinite satisfaction in expressing to your Excellency, to the Members of His Majesty's Council, and to the Gentlemen of the House of Assembly of this province, my grateful thanks for the distinguished and flattering mark of your attachment and good-will which is so handsomely conveyed in your address.

"Nothing could afford me higher gratification than to receive so unequivocal a proof of your approbation of my conduct during the time His Majesty has been pleased to honour me with the command of his troops

in this province. My utmost endeavours have always been exerted to obtain your good-will, by pursuing that line of conduct which I thought would be most acceptable to the King, and most beneficial to his service, as well as best calculated for the protection of the province. To have succeeded therefore in this object, of which circumstance your address of to-day affords me so honourable a testimony, is the more gratifying to my feelings, as I flatter myself when His Majesty is informed of it, he will not hear it with indifference.

"After having said this much, it will be almost needless to add, how ready and how happy I shall be to accept of the present you intend me, which I shall ever esteem and highly prize, as the mark of your attachment to my person, and of your acknowledgment of my feeble exertions for your security and protection.

"Permit me to take leave of you, Gentlemen, by expressing towards all my best wishes, both for your individual happiness and the general welfare of the province at large."

"A message from the Council, informing the House that the Honourables Henry Newton, John Halliburton, and Benning Wentworth were a Committee to join the Committee of the House, to purchase a Star to be presented to Prince Edward.

"*June* 15, 1799.—That in obedience to former resolutions, and to the subsequent orders thereupon,

dated 6th July, 1798, the Committee received from the treasurer of the province the sum of five hundred guineas, voted for that purpose, which they invested in a government bill of exchange, and remitted in the month of August unto Messrs. Ransom & Co., London, bankers, with a request that they would cause to be made a diamond Star of the Order of the Garter, and executed in the best and most elegant manner that the sum would admit of, exclusive of any contingent expense.

"That His Royal Highness having sailed for England in the month of October following, the Committee directed Messrs. Ransom to deliver the Star when completed into the hands of Charles Mary Wentworth and Lawrence Hartshorne, Esquires, then in London, to be by them presented, *in the name and behalf of this province*, to His Royal Highness. That in the month of January last the said Charles Mary Wentworth and Lawrence Hartshorne, Esquires, having obtained an audience for the purpose, did present the Star to His Royal Highness Prince Edward, at Saint James's, in the manner recommended to them by His Excellency Sir John Wentworth and the Committee, as will appear by the annexed documents.

"TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE EDWARD.

"Sir,—His Excellency Sir John Wentworth, and the Committee appointed by His Majesty's Council and by the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, have con-

ferred on us the honour of presenting to your Royal Highness the Star voted at the last session in general assembly, as a memorial of the respect and esteem they entertain for your Royal Highness's character and conduct during your residence in that province. Permit us to say, we feel ourselves peculiarly honoured in this opportunity of approaching your Royal Highness, and in addition to the duty prescribed, to offer our sincere and heartfelt congratulations upon your Royal Highness's safe arrival in your native country, your return to the arms of our beloved Sovereign, your royal father and family, and at an auspicious hour most glorious for our King and country.

"Knowing, as we do, your Royal Highness's zeal for both, we cannot help expressing our joy upon the occasion, and our anxious hope, that the medical assistance your Royal Highness has received in this country, will soon restore you to perfect health. We have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, your Royal Highness's most dutiful and most devoted servants,

"CHARLES MARY WENTWORTH,
LAWRENCE HARTSHORNE."

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS'S ANSWER.

"GENTLEMEN,—I request you will express to Sir John Wentworth, and the members of His Majesty's Council, as well as of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, my warmest thanks for the gift of the Star,

with which you have this day presented me, as a token of their friendship and good-will towards me. The flattering manner in which this mark of esteem was voted cannot fail to enhance the value of the present. Be pleased to accept personally for yourselves, Gentlemen, of my particular acknowledgments for the handsome and obliging manner in which you have executed the commission committed to your charge; and I hope you will be persuaded that a friendly remembrance of the persons from whose hands I received it will never be separated from the recollection of the peculiar distinction conferred on me by the province to which you belong.

"EDWARD."

The next Address had its origin in the return of the Prince to Nova Scotia as Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in British North America.

"At a Council holden at Halifax, on Tuesday, the 10th September, 1799, present,

HIS EXCELLENCY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR,
SIR J. WENTWORTH,
THE HON. THE CHIEF JUSTICE,
" H. NEWTON,
" A. BRYMER,
" T. COCHRANE,
" J. HALLIBURTON,
" B. WENTWORTH,
" JAMES BRENTON,

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor proposed to the Board the propriety of addressing His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent upon his return to this province.

"The Council agreed to the same; and Mr. Newton, Mr. Brymer, Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Brenton were appointed a Committee to prepare such Address."

"At a Council holden at Halifax, on Thursday, the 12th September, 1799; present,

His Excellency Sir J. Wentworth, Bart.

&c. &c. &c.

The Honourable Benning Wentworth reported from the Committee appointed the day before yesterday to prepare an Address to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, that they had drawn up an Address, pursuant to the direction of the Council, which being read and agreed to, was ordered to be engrossed; viz.—

"To General, His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent and Strathern, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in British North America, &c. &c. &c. The Address of His Excellency Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor of His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, and of His Majesty's Council for the same.

"The Lieutenant-Governor and Council of Nova Scotia beg leave to approach your Royal Highness with unfeigned congratulations on your return to this favoured country to exercise the military command,

and to protect the loyal and extensive provinces of British America, distinguished by your Royal Highness's former residence.

"In the liveliest terms of gratitude we render thanks to that Being who guides all events, for the restoration of your Royal Highness's health, so peculiarly interesting to the people of this country.

"At a period of innovation and anarchy in other parts, we are anxious to come forward, with one heart and voice, to offer testimonies of inviolable attachment to the King's person, family, and government.

"The times demand this public declaration; and we wish dutifully to cast our weight into the scale of order and obedience, so beneficial to the good of mankind, and so necessary to the tranquillity of the world.

"We rejoice in the recent and decisive victories gained by His Majesty's fleets and the armies of his allies, whose brave commanders, by their professional skill and undaunted courage, under Divine Providence, have added safety and honour to their country.

"And finally, Sir, we beg leave to express our heartfelt gratitude to our gracious Sovereign, for appointing your Royal Highness to this command, and which we sincerely hope may redound as much to your Royal Highness's honour and glory, as it will reflect lustre on His Majesty's North American dominions.

(Signed) "J. WENTWORTH.

"COUNCIL CHAMBER,
Sept. 19, 1799."

ANSWER.

"To His Excellency Sir John Wentworth, Baronet, Lieutenant-Governor, and to the members of His Majesty's Council.

"I request that your Excellency and the members of His Majesty's Council will be assured of my grateful acceptance of your congratulations on my return to Nova Scotia, in a situation of so much confidence as that to which His Majesty has been pleased to appoint me, and in which it will ever be my study to prove myself not unworthy of the trust reposed in me.

"I am equally sensible of your polite attention in expressing your joy at my recovery from the effects of that accident, which occasioned my return to England last fall.

"I shall not fail to embrace an opportunity of communicating to His Majesty, by whom, I am sure, it cannot fail of being received in the most gracious manner, the very loyal manner in which you express your attachment to his person, family, and government.

"No one can join more cordially than myself in the satisfaction afforded you by the important victories gained by His Majesty's fleets, and the brave armies of his allies, or in acknowledging the high obligations we are under to their brave commanders for the repeated brilliant proofs they have given of their skill and courage.

"Let me conclude, Gentlemen, by adding, how flattered I am at finding that my appointment to the chief command of His Majesty's forces in British North America has given you pleasure, as also how thankful I feel for the hopes you signify that this circumstance will redound to my honour and credit; and that I trust every one of you will be persuaded that my utmost endeavours will be exerted for the protection of His Majesty's colonies in this part of the world, in the number of which Nova Scotia will ever claim from me a peculiar interest.

(Signed) "EDWARD,

"General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces serving in British North America."

To these succeeds the valedictory Address on His Royal Highness's final surrender of his government, and departure for England.

"At a Council holden at Halifax, on Wednesday, the 23d July, 1800; present,

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR JOHN WENTWORTH, BARONET, &c. &c. &c.

"His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor mentioned to the Council the intention of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent to embark for England in a few days, and suggested the propriety of presenting an Address to His Royal Highness on his departure, which being approved of, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Brenton were appointed a Committee to pre-

pare a draft of such Address, and to report the same to the Board."

"At a Council holden at Halifax, on Thursday, the 31st of July, 1800; present,

His Excellency Sir J. Wentworth, Baronet, &c. &c. &c.

"His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and Council, agreeable to previous resolutions, waited on His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent with the following

ADDRESS.

"To General, His Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent, Commander-in-Chief of the forces serving in British North America, &c. &c. &c.

"The Address of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of Nova Scotia.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"The Lieutenant-Governor, and Council of Nova Scotia, beg leave to express to your Royal Highness their sincere regret that this province is so soon to be deprived of the honour and happiness it has enjoyed by the residence of your Royal Highness in the chief command of His Majesty's forces in this part of his dominions;—sensible that to your Royal Highness's presence may be chiefly attributed the peaceful security we have experienced during the present war, we cannot but feel how many deprivations must be occasioned by your departure.

"To YOUR BENEVOLENCE THE INDIGENT HAVE OWED THEIR SUPPORT, *the tradesman and mechanic employment*, and the industrious of every description the means of reaping the recompense of their skill and diligence.

"Grateful for these and many other important advantages derived from your Royal Highness, we shall always cherish the recollection of your kind attention to preserve the tranquillity and to promote the prosperity of the country, and we indulge the pleasing hope, that your Royal Highness will continue to afford to the province your patronage and regard.

"We congratulate your Royal Highness on the providential preservation of our beloved Sovereign from the late horrid attack of an atrocious and diabolical assassin. May the Almighty, in whose hands are the issues of life and death, long preserve his Majesty, a blessing to his august family, and to the whole empire!

"Be pleased to accept our best wishes for your future health and happiness, for a prosperous voyage and safe arrival in England: and that, in whatever station your Royal Highness may be placed, you may receive the rewards which your eminent virtues and splendid talents will always merit.

(Signed) "J. WENTWORTH.
S. S. BLOWERS,
President of the Council.

"COUNCIL CHAMBER,
Halifax, July 31, 1800."

"Answer of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, and Council of His Majesty's province of Nova Scotia.

"I request that your Excellency and the honourable members of His Majesty's Council will be assured that I sensibly feel the regret so obligingly expressed by you on the occasion of my departure from North America.

"It is with no small degree of pride that I perceive the many beneficial effects which you are so good as to ascribe to my residence amongst you; but at the same time that I have not vanity enough to flatter myself that my absence will be so severely felt as you have the kindness to intimate, it is a circumstance that I shall always consider as one of the most flattering of my life, that I may be certain of carrying with me your hearty wishes and good opinion, as well as that I have not failed in my endeavours to maintain the tranquillity and promote the prosperity of your province.

"I cannot but accept with the truest and most grateful acknowledgments your congratulations on the merciful interposition of Providence for the protection of the King's life; nor do I feel less thankful for the warm sentiments of attachment you entertain for his person, and the wishes you offer for the prolongation of a life so invaluable to his family, his dominions, and indeed, I may add, with infinite truth, to the world at large.

"In return for these sentiments towards His Majesty, and the assurances you give me of the in-

terest you will ever take in my welfare and happiness, I trust that you will be convinced that I shall ever look back with a grateful remembrance to that part of my life which has been passed amongst you, and that the prosperity of Nova Scotia and its inhabitants is a circumstance to which I can at no time be indifferent.

(Signed) "EDWARD."

For the next document, I must claim the special attention of the reader. It is the testimony of an eye-witness, who happily still survives—confided in, beloved, and deservedly honoured, as an accomplished scholar and a most impartial judge. The details he gives are peculiarly interesting, from the light which they throw on His Royal Highness's private character. We grasp marked but opposite traits of disposition—the benevolence of the man as well as the firmness of the soldier. It is a vivid sketch, and gratefully do I welcome it to my pages. The writer is Judge Halliburton; further comment the reader would resent as an impertinence.

"Monday, October 1st, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I regret that my professional avocations on Saturday prevented my answering your Excellency's letter (enclosing the Rev. Mr. Neale's) which I received on Friday.

"I have some recollection of the vote of five hundred guineas by the Provincial Legislature, to provide a Star for his late Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, in token of the high estimation in which he was held

in Nova Scotia; but as I had no connexion with the Legislature until many years after that time, I can give no accurate information upon the subject. I applied to my friend Mr. Robie, who was for many years Speaker of the House of Assembly, but find he was not a member of that body at the time the vote passed. I fear, therefore, that your Excellency will be confined to such information only as the journals of that day will afford, which will be but bald.

"I regret this because there were at that time many well-educated men of respectable talents (the relics of our old loyalists, who came hither from the United States) who had seats in the Legislature, whose sentiments upon the subject would probably be both interesting and satisfactory to Mr. Neale.

"The late Mr. Howe, father of the present Provincial Secretary, at one time edited a magazine here, in which the debates of the Assembly upon interesting subjects were frequently inserted, but I doubt whether it had not ceased before the vote passed.

"His Royal Highness arrived at Halifax in the month of October, 1794, from the West Indies, where he had served as a Major-General, under Sir Charles Grey, in the reduction of Martinique and Guadaloupe. *I was one of the subalterns of the guard of honour that received him.*

"Lord Dorchester was at that time Commander-in-Chief of the forces in British America. The head-

quarters were at Quebec; and His Royal Highness assumed the command of the troops in Nova Scotia.

"At the time of his arrival, the habits of the garrison were *very dissipated.* The dissipation, indeed, was not confined to the military; the civil society partook of it largely. It was no unusual thing to see gentlemen join a company of ladies in a state of intoxication, which would now be deemed very disgraceful, but which was then merely laughed at by the ladies themselves. His Royal Highness at once discountenanced such conduct. Among the military he soon put an end to it by parading the troops every morning at five o'clock; and as he always attended himself, no officer could of course feel it a hardship to do so. The improvement which thus took place among the military, gradually extended to their civil acquaintances; and His Royal Highness thus became instrumental in improving both.

"Gambling also prevailed to a great extent; but His Royal Highness never touched a card; and as the early parades compelled its former military votaries to retire early to bed, gambling, as well as drinking, fell into disuse.

"I must mention a circumstance which occurred about this period, which interested many at the time. A very kind-hearted captain of the regiment had been sent to Newfoundland to recruit. He was not well calculated for that service, and in the hands of an artful sergeant, had returned much in arrears to the paymaster. He was an amiable but easy-going man;

and a few days after his return, he dined at a party where cards were introduced in the evening. He had never been in the habit of playing, but was easily prevailed upon to join the party; and by one of those runs of good luck by which the tempter frequently seduces novices, bore off all the money of the evening. It was a sum quite sufficient to relieve him from his difficulties. His great luck was the engrossing subject of conversation throughout the following day: 'But of course,' said the losers, 'Macdonald will give us a chance of winning our money back again, when we meet at Esten's on the next Thursday evening.' Everybody knew that Mr. Macdonald would be easily persuaded to do so, and his friends feared that he might become a confirmed gambler. His Royal Highness heard of it; sent for him; and after conversing with him, very seriously and kindly, said, 'Mr. Macdonald, you have never been in the habit of playing—these gentlemen requested you to play, and if, by complying with their request, you have won their money, it is much better that they should bear the loss, than that you, from a false notion of honour, should run the risk of acquiring a bad habit. I request that you will give me a positive pledge on honour that you will not again play at games of chance.' Macdonald did so. *The Prince made it public.* Of course, after that, no gentleman could solicit Macdonald to play; and as he was not inclined himself to do so, he escaped the snare in which, had it not been for His Royal Highness's friendly interference, his good luck

might ultimately have entangled him. Poor, kind-hearted Macdonald! he fell a victim to the climate in the West Indies, not long afterwards.

"His Royal Highness's discipline was strict almost to severity. I am sure he acted upon principle; but I think he was somewhat mistaken in supposing such undeviating exactitude essential to good order. Off the parade, he was the affable prince and polished gentleman. At his table every one felt at ease; but while it was evidently his object to make them so, his dignified manner precluded the possibility of any liberty being taken by the most forward.

"I cannot close without mentioning *his benevolence to the distressed.* A TALE OF WOE ALWAYS INTERESTED HIM DEEPLY: and nothing but gross misconduct could ever induce him to abandon any whom he had *once been induced to befriend.* I have much pleasure in recalling those recollections of His Royal Highness, under whom I served for several years; and from whom I received very great kindness.

"I return Mr. Neale's letter herewith, and have the honour to remain,

"Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

"BRENTON HALLIBURTON.

"*His Excellency Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Hervey, K.C.B. &c. &c. &c.*"

This account of His Royal Highness's government in British America—the most sunny period of His Royal Highness's life—may be appropriately closed

with the following pendant from the pen of that observant and amusing fellow, Sam Slick. He is a fearless limner; and spares not his colours. In all his sketches, however droll, there is unfailingly presented a weighty moral, a word of grave and pregnant counsel, or a scathing exposure of hollow pretension and political misrule. Sam knew the Prince and loved him. His present mood is graver than his wont; but whether in merry or melancholy vein, Sam is a hard hitter, and "a facer" from him, is "conclusive."

"At a distance of seven miles from the town is a ruined lodge, built by His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, when Commander-in-Chief of the forces in this colony, once his favourite summer residence, and the scene of his munificent hospitalities. It is impossible to visit this spot without the most melancholy feelings. The tottering fence, the prostrate gates, the ruined grottos, the long and winding avenues, cut out of the forest, overgrown by rank grass and occasional shrubs, and the silence and desolation that reign around, all bespeaking a rapid and premature decay, recall to mind the untimely fate of its noble and lamented owner, and tell of fleeting pleasures, and the transitory nature of all earthly things. I stopped at a small inn in the neighbourhood for the purpose of strolling over it for the last time ere I left the country, and for the indulgence of those moralising musings which at times harmonize with our nerves, and awaken what may be called the pleasurable sensations of melancholy.

"A modern wooden ruin is of itself the least interesting, and at the same time the most depressing, object imaginable. The massive structures of antiquity that are everywhere to be met with in Europe, exhibit the remains of great strength, and though injured and defaced by the slow and almost imperceptible agency of time, promise to continue thus mutilated for ages to come. They awaken the images of departed generations, and are sanctified by legend and by tale. But a wooden ruin shows rank and rapid decay, concentrates its interest on one family, or one man, and resembles a mangled corpse, rather than the monument that covers it. It has no historical importance, no ancestral record. It awakens not the imagination. The poet finds no inspiration in it, and the antiquary no interest. It speaks only of death and decay, of recent calamity, and vegetable decomposition. The very air about it is close, dank, and unwholesome. It has no grace, no strength, no beauty, but looks deformed, gross, and repulsive. Even the faded colour of a painted wooden house, the tarnished gilding of its decorations, the corroded iron of its fastenings, and its crumbling materials, all indicate recent use and temporary habitation. It is but a short time since this mansion was tenanted by its royal master, and in that brief space how great has been the devastation of the elements! A few years more, and all trace of it will have disappeared for ever. Its very site will soon become a matter of doubt. The forest is fast reclaiming its own, and the lawns and orna-

mented gardens, annually sown with seeds scattered by the winds from the surrounding woods, are relapsing into a state of nature, and exhibiting in detached patches a young growth of such trees as are common to the country.

"As I approached the house I noticed that the windows were broken out, or shut up with rough boards to exclude the rain and snow; the doors supported by wooden props instead of hinges, which hung loosely on the panels; and that long luxuriant clover grew in the eaves, which had been originally designed to conduct the water from the roof, but becoming choked with dust and decayed leaves, had afforded sufficient food for the nourishment of coarse grasses. The portico, like the house, had been formed of wood, and the flat surface of its top imbibing and retaining moisture, presented a mass of vegetable matter, from which had sprung up a young and vigorous birch-tree, whose strength and freshness seemed to mock the helpless weakness that nourished it.* I had no desire to enter the apartments; and indeed the aged ranger, whose occupation was to watch over its decay, and to prevent its premature destruction by the plunder of its fixtures and more durable materials, informed me that the floors were unsafe. Altogether the scene was one of a most depressing kind.

"A small brook, which had by a skilful hand been led over several precipitous descents, performed its

* This was the case when I was there in 1828; since then porch and tree have both disappeared.

feats alone and unobserved, and seemed to murmur out its complaints, as it hurried over its rocky channel to mingle with the sea; while the wind, sighing through the umbrageous wood, appeared to assume a louder and more melancholy wail, as it swept through the long vacant passages and deserted saloons, and escaped in plaintive tones from the broken casements. The offices, as well as the ornamental buildings, had shared the same fate as the house. The roofs of all had fallen in, and mouldered into dust; the doors, sashes, and floors had disappeared; and the walls only, which were in part built of stone, remained to attest their existence and use. The grounds exhibited similar effects of neglect, in a climate where the living wood grows so rapidly, and the dead decays so soon, as in Nova Scotia. An arbour, which had been constructed of lattice-work, for the support of a flowering vine, had fallen, and was covered with vegetation; while its roof alone remained, supported aloft by limbs of trees that, growing up near it, had become entangled in its net-work. A Chinese temple, once a favourite retreat of its owner, as if in conscious pride of its preference, had offered a more successful resistance to the weather, and appeared in tolerable preservation; while one small surviving bell, of the numerous ones that once ornamented it, gave out its solitary and melancholy tinkling as it waved in the wind. How sad was its mimic knell over pleasures that were fled for ever!

"The contemplation of this deserted house is not without its beneficial effect on the mind; for it incul-

cates humility to the rich, and resignation to the poor. However elevated man may be, there is much in his condition that reminds him of the infirmities of his nature, and reconciles him to the decrees of Providence. 'May it please your Majesty,' said Euclid to his royal pupil, 'there is no regal road to science. You must travel in the same path with others, if you would attain the same end.' These forsaken grounds teach us in similar terms this consolatory truth, that there is no exclusive way to happiness reserved even for those of the most exalted rank. The smiles of fortune are capricious, and sunshine and shade are unequally distributed; but though the surface of life is thus diversified, the end is uniform to all, and invariably terminates in the grave.

> 'Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> Regumque turres.'

"Ruins, like death, of which they are at once the emblem and the evidence, are apt to lose their effect from their frequency. The mind becomes accustomed to them, and the moral is lost. The picturesque alone remains predominant, and criticism supplies the place of reflection. But this is the only ruin of any extent in Nova Scotia, and the only spot either associated with royalty, or set apart and consecrated to solitude and decay. The stranger pauses at a sight so unusual, and inquires the cause; he learns with surprise that this place was devoted exclusively to pleasure; that care and sorrow never entered here; and that the

voice of mirth and music was alone heard within its gates. It was the temporary abode of a prince,—of one, too, had he lived, that would have inherited the first and fairest empire in the world. All that man can give or rank enjoy awaited him; but an overruling and inscrutable Providence decreed, at the very time when his succession seemed most certain, that the sceptre should pass into the hands of another. This intelligence interests and excites his feelings. He enters, and hears at every step the voice of nature proclaiming the doom that awaits alike the prince and the peasant. The desolation he sees appals him. The swallow nestles in the empty chamber, and the sheep find a noon-day shelter in the banquetting-room, while the ill-omened bat rejoices in the dampness of the mouldering ruins. Everything recalls a recollection of the dead; every spot has its record of the past; every path its footstep; every tree its legend; and even the universal silence that reigns here has an awful eloquence that overpowers the heart. Death is written everywhere. Sad and dejected, he turns and seeks some little relic, some small memorial of his deceased prince; and a solitary, neglected garden-flower, struggling for existence among the rank grasses, presents a fitting type of the brief existence and transitory nature of all around him. As he gathers it, he pays the silent but touching tribute of a votive tear to the memory of him who has departed, and leaves the place with a mind softened and subdued, but improved and purified, by what he has seen.

"The affectionate remembrance we retain of its lamented owner may have added to my regret, and increased the interest I felt in this lonely and peculiar ruin. In the Duke of Kent the Nova Scotians lost a kind patron and generous friend. The loyalty of the people, which, when all America was revolting, remained firm and unshaken, and the numerous proofs he received of their attachment to their King and to himself, made an impression upon his mind that was neither effaced nor weakened by time or distance. Should these pages happily meet the eye of a Colonial minister, who has other objects in view than the security of place and the interest of a party, may they remind him of a duty that has never been performed but by the illustrious individual, whose former residence among us gave rise to these reflections! This work is designed for the cottage, and not for the palace; and the author has not the presumption even to hope it can ever be honoured by the perusal of his Sovereign. Had he any ground for anticipating such a distinction for it, he would avail himself of this opportunity of mentioning that in addition to the dutiful affection the Nova Scotians have always borne to their Monarch, they feel a more lively interest in, and a more devoted attachment to, the present occupant of the throne, from the circumstance of the long and close connexion that subsisted between them and her illustrious parent. He was their patron, benefactor, and friend. To be a Nova Scotian was of itself a sufficient passport to his notice, and to possess

merit a sufficient guarantee for his favour. Her Majesty reigns, therefore, in this little province in the hearts of her subjects, has a dominion of love inherited from her father. Great as their loss was in being thus deprived of their only protector, her faithful people of Nova Scotia still cling to the hope that Providence has vouchsafed to raise up one more powerful and equally kind in Her Majesty, who, following this paternal example, will be graciously pleased to extend to them a patronage that courtiers cannot, and statesmen will not give. While, therefore, as *protégés* of her royal house, they claim the right to honour and to serve the sovereign of the empire as '*their own Queen*,' they flatter themselves Her Majesty, for a similar reason, will condescend to regard them as '*the Queen's own.*'"

CHAPTER VII.

DIPLOMATISTS AND THEIR PROMISES—MR. PITT—LORD SIDMOUTH—HIS LORDSHIP'S PECULIAR AND CONVENIENT MEMORY—THE GOVERNMENT OF GIBRALTAR OFFERED.

1799—1800.

So far as his military reputation was concerned this was the most sunny period in the Duke's chequered life. He had relinquished the government of Nova Scotia with the most unequivocal testimonies of respect from men of all parties. In terms which admitted but of one construction, the provincial Legislature had UNANIMOUSLY proclaimed their sense of the equity and ability of his administration. On the other hand, as a soldier, his dauntless bearing on active service, his personal gallantry, early and admirably displayed by leading a storming party of grenadiers at the attack of one of the strongest fortresses in the West Indies, were fresh in the national memory. He stood well in the public eye—popular with the troops—commended by the General * under whom he had served—and regretted by the loyal and warm-hearted people whose shores he had just quitted. The point of popularity he had now reached was far advanced and fairly won.

* Sir Charles Grey.

But he was not without sources of daily disquietude. His pecuniary difficulties goaded him to the very quick. They embittered the present; they tinged with apprehension the future. *Then*, AS EVER, earnestly desirous to cancel the demand of every creditor, he availed himself of his return to England to press, in person, his claims to remuneration for the repeated losses which he had sustained in his removal from place to place, *by order of his Sovereign and in the service of his country.*

It was a strange reception which the servants of the King deemed it their duty to bestow on the modest appeal of their master's son.

When, in 1799, at the age of nearly thirty-three, the Prince pointed out to Mr. Pitt the singular and invidious delay which had taken place in his case with respect to his parliamentary provision, the unbending Minister in reply assigned this to be the reason why his parliamentary settlement was deferred, viz. that "the Prince having been abroad for so many years on foreign service, his provision had been totally overlooked—an omission which was entirely his (Mr. Pitt's) fault; and for which he took shame to himself: but that so far as pecuniary loss was concerned, His Royal Highness should receive amends."

A promise uttered with the Minister's habitual sternness of manner, and measured stateliness of phrase:—but never fulfilled.

But it was relied on.

And when the Minister reiterated that due consi-

deration should be had to the circumstance of his having received his parliamentary establishment so much later in life than any of his brothers; and that if he were not placed on an exact footing with the Duke of Clarence, which would have produced an arrear of eight years, he should enjoy the same advantage as the Duke of Cumberland, which MUST *ensure an arrear of four*,—the Prince considered the period of his emancipation from his difficulties close at hand.

In other words, he was assured that if a grant of 96,000*l.* were not made to him, which was no more than his due, he might confidently reckon on one for 48,000*l.*, which was the least that could possibly be proffered.

NEITHER SUM was ever awarded!

Mr. Pitt retired from office, leaving his pledge unredeemed. Mr. Addington became Premier. To him the Duke's claims were submitted in detail: Mr. Addington promised; and Mr. Addington eventually passed them by. Of all the Ministers of the Crown to whose sense of honour the Prince appealed, Mr. Addington was the one from whom His Royal Highness experienced the greatest measure of injustice.

Mr. Addington's promises were most positive and unqualified. At a convenient season he repudiated them: forgot, or made a show of forgetting, the assurances he had uttered, and then, as we shall subsequently see, impeached the Duke's veracity,—the veracity of the Duke of Kent!—a man of whom those most opposed to him in politics, and most averse to

his code of military discipline, did not scruple to affirm that "his fidelity to the lightest and most casual promise, and his uncompromising love of truth, were truly noble."

A trait or two, *en passant*, of Lord Sidmouth on those controverted points, his tenacious memory and his fidelity to his plighted word.

The same opportune failure in recollection, and the same ready disposition, *when closely pressed*, to impeach the veracity of others, displayed itself during the progress of his Lordship's negotiations with Mrs. Fry. Whoever has been so highly privileged as to carry out any transaction with, or to have any personal knowledge of, that devoted and self-denying woman, must be well aware that a resolute and undeviating adherence to veracity was a predominant feature in her saint-like character. Equivocation, embellishment, exaggeration, she abhorred. "Use great plainness of speech," was a maxim she daily exemplified in her intercourse with the lowly and with the great. Singularly guarded in all her statements, she took especial care, in detailing any fact or incident, to divest it of all adventitious colouring, and to represent it in the simple garb of truth. Yet HER! Lord Sidmouth, when plied with his own assertions, and obliged to adopt one of two courses, pronounced *devoid of truth*. The horns of a dilemma held him: he had either to admit that his own memory was completely at fault, or to maintain that Mrs. Fry dealt in falsehood. He preferred the latter course. To be sure,

had he adopted the former alternative, his powers of recollection would have been characterised as defective; and Skelton, a poor wretched woman under sentence of death for forgery, would have escaped the hangman. This would have been *unsatisfactory*, for his Lordship had a strange relish for executions.

Despite of his bland manner, and gentle smile, and subdued intonation of voice, Henry, the first Viscount Sidmouth — softly be it spoken — was a decided friend to capital punishment. He maintained that the scaffold and the hangman's noose taught a salutary lesson. So he adopted the latter alternative. He hung Skelton; and pronounced Mrs. Fry—a deliberate falsifier. The incident is alluded to somewhat prominently in her Life. The facts—but a little previous explanation is necessary.

The period, be it remembered, 1818, might be called the saturnalia of Jack Ketch. The gibbet was in constant requisition. The judge on circuit had ever his black cap ready by his side. The state of the law was in fact so sanguinary, as to prevent the possibility of its own execution. Hundreds, had it been carried out, must have been sacrificed for the crime of forgery alone! To prevent so monstrous a result, "there was a system (happily now a tale of the past) of arranging for such as were not to die, to plead 'Guilty to the minor count.'" * The Bank solicitors, in conjunction with some of the Old Bailey authorities, selected certain individuals for deliverance from death.

* That of *uttering*, knowing to be forged.

Instances there were when "calculating chances," the accused would decline the proffered boon, and put in the plea of "Not guilty," on the possibility of entirely escaping punishment.

Harriett Skelton, a person of most prepossessing countenance and previous good character, had, under the influence of a man she loved, passed forged notes. She was ordered for execution. Her case excited the strongest compassion. There were circumstances of extenuation mixed up with her history, which deeply interested many parties; among others, Mrs. Fry. She, accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester, waited on the Bank Directors, to plead this unfortunate woman's cause; the Duke having previously made a most earnest application to Lord Sidmouth in her behalf: all in vain. The law took its course: and the ill-fated girl was hanged.

Mrs. Fry avowed her opinion in decisive terms: *Skelton had been* MISLED.

Lord Sidmouth was seriously annoyed, and expressed his annoyance in a manner so distressing to her, that with all her gentleness and forbearance, Mrs. Fry was compelled to acknowledge that she could hold no further direct communication with *one who assumed to doubt her*, VERACITY!! unless some explanation was offered. The mooted point related to the power lodged in the Bank of England, with Lord Sidmouth's concurrence, to select such persons as they considered fit subjects, to plead "Guilty" to the "*minor count*," and so to escape the extreme penalty of the law.

Mrs. Fry was *never shaken in the belief* that Skelton had had the offer so to do, but most unwisely, as it proved, had rejected it, and that through this error in judgment she had paid the forfeit of her life.*

Here terminated the intercourse between the Quakeress and the Cabinet Minister. Mrs. Fry did not abandon all hope of reconciliation till she had tried what effect a personal interview would have on his Lordship, in removing his impressions as to her want of veracity. Lady Harcourt accompanied her. But his Lordship, with his habitual and incomparable obstinacy, remained true to his previous convictions. He held that Mrs. Fry was a determined falsifier.

Oh! will that mistaken and demoralizing system which that true-hearted woman tried so earnestly to uproot—her coadjutor, the noble-minded William Allen, himself a confidential friend and valued correspondent of the Duke—will the system of capital punishment long prevail in this enlightened country? Does any crime justify man's tampering with the soul—abbreviating its opportunity for repentance, and sending it hastily and hurriedly to its last dread account? Will not the hour arrive, when legalized murder shall be unknown in England? Hasten it, DIVINE FOUNTAIN of Mercy! THOU who wouldest not that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.

It was under the vacillating administration of that feeble-minded, unfeeling, and much overrated-man,

* Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, vol. i. p. 310.

Henry Addington, that the Duke of Kent, on the 21st of August, 1801, was removed from the command of the 7th Fusileers to that of the Royals, vacant by the death of Lord Adam Gordon; and early in the following year was tendered an appointment which changed the whole current of his life, and entailed on him years of unmerited obloquy and mental suffering —the government of Gibraltar.

From a very lengthy memorandum which I have seen in the Duke's own handwriting, and evidently corrected by him as late down as December in the year 1818, it appears that the post was offered him, not sought; that he accepted it with some hesitation; and only after he "*had received the strongest assurances of the fullest support from Government,*" touching whatever fresh regulations he might find it necessary to issue.

It would seem that the Premier, in the first of his many interviews with the Duke on the subject, said, "This state of things"—alluding to the drunkenness and insubordination then prevalent at Gibraltar— "cannot be permitted to endure. It has lasted already too long. *It* MUST *be put down,* and your Royal Highness is the man to do it. You may firmly reckon on the fullest measure of support from the Cabinet at home."

Another stipulation was made, and another pledge given, to which distinct allusion will be requisite hereafter.

Thus much for the promises held out in Downing Street.

What said the authorities at the Horse Guards?

"I consider it my duty"—thus wrote the Duke of York, then Commander-in-Chief, date 21st of April, 1802—"on your assuming the command of the garrison at Gibraltar, to make your Royal Highness aware that much exertion will be necessary to establish *a due degree of discipline* AMONG THE TROOPS; and which, I trust, you will be able gradually to accomplish by a moderate exercise of the power vested in you."

A broad admission this! To a military man it would convey but one meaning.

Another of the Duke of York's instructions to the Duke of Kent ran thus:—

"It is essential that your Royal Highness should be made aware, previous to your assuming the command at Gibraltar, that too great a proportion of the garrison has been usually employed on duties of fatigue; that, in consequence, discipline has been relaxed, and drunkenness promoted; that it will be the *duty* of your Royal Highness to *exact* the most minute attention to all His Majesty's regulations for disciplining, arming, clothing, and appointing of the army, from *all* of which not the most trifling deviation can be allowed."

Another inquiry was, however, hazarded by the Prince ere he announced his decision.

"Now as to the second in command, Barnett, can I depend ——"

"Oh! devoted to you—devoted to you"—was the reply; "true as steel—rely upon him."

"*Devoted to you!*"

How wisely and how mercifully is the future hidden from us!

"Of worshippers, parasites, mercenaries, suitors, and dependents, royalty has a host; of personally attached and disinterested adherents—a slender and bashful band. The first resemble the mixed multitude which came out of Egypt; the last, the handful in the ark—truthful, faithful, hopeful, prayerful."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MUTINY AT GIBRALTAR—TREACHERY OF THE OFFICERS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE DUKE.

1802—1803.

CALPÈ, had she a voice, could tell some strange tales. She has witnessed some fearful tragedies, and been subject to a variety of fortune. Of the irruption of the Arabs into Spain, A.D. 711, when they landed at the foot of this rock; of her recapture from the Arabians by Ferdinand, King of Castile, in 1302; of their again resuming possession of her in 1333, and being finally driven from her strongholds by Henry IV. in 1462; of the struggle for her during the war of the Spanish succession; and of the defeat endured by the Dons—August 4th, 1704,—when they were compelled to surrender her to the British Admiral, Rooke, and Prince George of Darmstadt; of Elliot and the red-hot shot which was poured upon the enemy's floating batteries by the gallant fellows who served under him in the memorable siege of September, 1782;—of all these the Old Lady, had she vocables, might babble freely and forcibly;—nay more—she might hint with pardonable pride, how great a prize she had been deemed by neighbouring

monarchs for centuries,—and defy the keenest calculator to estimate the lives that had been lost and the treasure that had been lavished for the possession of her rugged charms.

She might add too, that in her close and narrow streets are congregated nuisances of every kind under heaven; that *there* dwell in close contiguity, people of every clime, and kindred, and tongue; that *there* lurks debauchery in every guise and form; that the plague found a resting-place in her filthy alleys, and revelled amid her mixed population during the deadly year of 1804; that it is the dearest place on this broad earth to dwell in; that fraud and speculation reign there supreme; that in the affections of the Jew, Gibraltar is only second to Jerusalem, since on the Rock he can barter, cheat, and pilfer the livelong day; that the motto most in vogue there—the one most favourably received and most cordially acted on is—

"Rem, quocunque modo Rem!"

The Old Lady is unique—a rock, and yet a garden.

"Gibraltar," says an able writer,* "is not the barren rock that has been supposed. Colonel James mentions the names of 310 different trees and plants growing on the promontory. Several kinds of fruit are cultivated; and the vine and fig flourish in luxuriance. After rains vegetation is richly exuberant.

* Montgomery Martin's Statistics of the British Colonies.

The olive, almond, orange, lemon, and indeed every tree planted in a proper spot, thrive on Gibraltar; in the naval garden in the south are some noble date-trees; the prickly pear runs wild; the aloe abounds, and the palmetto was formerly plentiful. Geraniums of almost every species grow in the utmost profusion, and a great variety of wild and uncultivated plants and herbs are found in every part of the mountain. Among the *native* fruits brought to market, are seven or eight kinds of grapes, figs, oranges, lemons, damsons, pomegranates, almonds, apples, peaches, plums, apricots, vulgo '*Kill-Johns*,' cherries, strawberries, &c. &c.; and potatoes, cabbages, onions, cucumbers, artichokes, tomatos, peas, kidney-beans, spinach, lettuces, radishes, &c. &c., are produced in abundance. During the latter part of the last siege, the quantity of vegetables grown was sufficient for the supply of the garrison, and the quantity of garden ground is now augmented."

The aspect of Gibraltar at this particular period, with respect to discipline, may best be gathered from the following description by a thoroughly disinterested observer:—"Gibraltar is mainly supplied with water from cisterns which are filled by the rain: three or four wells were, however, sinking in the rock to procure this necessary of life. Indeed it (the water) is so bad, and the scarcity is so great, that they (the inhabitants) sometimes pay five reals, near two shillings sterling, for a small keg of better water which they buy from the soldiers.

"If water be scarce, WINE, on the other hand, *is in such abundance and so cheap, that in no part of the world exist such repeated scenes of intoxication.* It is, indeed, distressing to see *whole bands of soldiers and sailors literally* LYING IN THE STREETS *in the most degrading state of inebriety.* Drunkenness is no crime in the garrison except in those who are on duty, and every man coming off a working party is ordered to be paid eightpence on the spot, which he immediately proceeds to spend in a kind of bad wine called black strap. Houses for the sale of this pernicious liquor are found at every step, and furnish no small part of the revenue."*

Those in the slightest degree conversant with military matters well know that drunkenness is subversive of all discipline. It has been so held by the ablest warriors of our own times.

The Duke has been heard to say, "Drunkenness is the bane of the soldier; let that once prevail in a regiment, and its efficiency is at an end."

Sir Charles Napier, in addressing his old corps on his arrival in India to take the chief command, warned the men in most emphatic terms against this vice, as the "sure forerunner of disgrace and death."

Lord Hill, in calling a commanding officer before him, and reprimanding him smartly with reference to the insubordinate state of his regiment, is well remem-

* "Walsh's Journal of the late Campaign in Egypt, including Descriptions of that Country, and of Gibraltar." London: 4to. 1803.

bered to have said,—"Produce your punishment book, Sir. But I need hardly ask to see it. I know its aspect before I open it. It will be black with entries, 'Black hole' and 'The lash'—'The lash' and 'The black hole!' Exactly so. It cannot be otherwise. Wherever drunkenness prevails in a regiment, the punishment book is sure to be crowded with deplorable statements. Keep your men sober, Sir, and we shall hear less *of* you and *from* you at the Horse Guards."

Bearing in mind the peculiar aspect of Gibraltar at this particular period, slight surprise will be felt at the events that followed.

The Duke was appointed to the government on the 27th of March, 1802. On the 27th of April he embarked at Falmouth, and reached his destination on the 10th of May.

From various statements which had been made to him, both at the Horse Guards and by Mr. Addington, he was prepared to find the troops in a most licentious and undisciplined state, and considerable abuses existing in every department of the garrison. But every previous representation made to him in England fell far short of the immorality, insubordination, and laxity of all military rule then exhibited at Gibraltar.

On the very day the Duke landed on the Rock, he had an immediate opportunity of forming a judgment of the exterior appearance of the troops, as they assembled in review order on the Grand Parade, and afterwards formed a line from thence to the Lieu-

tenant-Governor's quarters, where the Duke at first took up his residence. To describe the slovenliness of their appearance, the total want of uniformity in their dress and appointments, the inaccuracy of their movements, and the unsteadiness of both *officers and men*, is beyond the power of language. Nor was their state of discipline less obnoxious to censure. The grossest irregularities characterised the bearing of the men when off duty. In the public streets, they might be seen by scores in a state of the most disgraceful intoxication, and altogether so clothed as to resemble a roving horde of lawless plunderers, rather than drilled and organized soldiers.

Complaints of their unrestrained licentiousness were rife on every side.

There were instances of the soldiers at noonday having seized females, and carried them behind the bastions to brutalise and violate their persons by force. This was attested on oath.

Discipline had become a bye-word. Every man did that which was "right in his own eyes." The Duke remained a silent, inactive, and disgusted spectator of such scenes for some days. He knew his duty, and although determined to do it, wished previously to ascertain whether the men were absolutely depraved and incorrigible, or whether the officers had been (as was certainly the fact) culpably careless, supine, and inattentive to their duty. His Royal Highness saw with great regret that much reproach was imputable to the latter. In the meantime, there

did not pass a single day without complaint that the soldiers had committed some outrage on the persons, or depredation on the property, of the inhabitants; of mutiny towards the non-commissioned officers—or of some military crime, such as drunkenness on guard or negligence of sentries on their posts: of minor offences, the number was beyond belief.

The Duke set about a reform forthwith. To accomplish it, he cheerfully *laboured seventeen hours a day*. His personal efforts and private remonstrances were unwearied. But his was an herculean task; and he had to grapple with it almost unaided. Unforeseen difficulties arose, and in quarters where opposition was least expected. Peculiar pains had been taken to excite prejudices among the soldiery against His Royal Highness previous to his arrival. All sorts of falsehoods relative to his eagerness to inflict corporal punishment were freely circulated in the ranks.

A great proportion of the officers afforded culpable opposition to every plan which had for its object the revival of subordination and control; a course of conduct the more inexcusable, because the Duke never used a rough expression to an officer, nor refused one an indulgence which it was in his power, with propriety, to grant. Add to this, marvellous inactivity and supineness evinced by the second in command, General Barnett, in public, and quiet but unqualified opposition to the Duke exhibited in private. Still His Royal Highness persevered.

When he first landed on the Rock, there were at least ninety wine and spirit houses!—*hot-beds to force*

muting—which, with the cheapness of liquors, gave such opportunities and temptations to the soldiers to drink, that intoxication, and the common effects of it, riot and disorder, rendered some restriction indispensable. His Royal Highness therefore reduced those houses from ninety to sixty, and subsequently at a convenient season ordered that they should not exceed forty.

By so doing, he materially *curtailed his own income.* But his anxiety to restore discipline, morality and sobriety, superseded all views of personal interest. He therefore cancelled the licences of those who sold wine and spirits in the immediate vicinity both of the barracks and guard-rooms,—those who had wine-shops in bye-lanes and obscure places,—letting those remain which were in the public streets. But ever humane and thoughtful, he enforced this regulation with commendable consideration and mercy. He did not abolish the practice *indiscriminately;* for he took care to distinguish between those who could support themselves without the wine and spirit trade, from those who depended upon it solely for subsistence.

His kindly feelings were as conspicuous as his sense of duty.

His next move in the work of reform proved his knowledge of human nature.

The officers had suffered idleness and drunkenness—inseparable companions—to pervade the soldiery.

He has lived with loose observation, both of himself and of others, who does not know that the human mind will too frequently embrace anything,

however dangerous or criminal, rather than be without an object; that *he who is idle will soon be vicious;* that a drunkard is not master of himself, nor to be relied upon by others. It therefore became necessary for His Royal Highness to devise some method of employing the men, and thus diminish their opportunities of drinking to excess. Occupation would materially conduce to sobriety; to restoration of discipline; and to a diminution of the number of crimes and punishments.

With these views an order was given to establish a roll-call at sunrise—a dress parade morning and evening; care was taken that the men should regularly attend meals; that after firing the second evening gun a report should be made that they were in barracks. The Duke also instituted regular periods for drill and exercise; provided for the regiments being off duty in succession, *so that the commanding officers might see their men together once every week;* and enforced the system of march, manœuvre, and exercise, laid down by His Majesty's regulations, to effect a general uniformity throughout the whole garrison.

But further remedial measures were requisite; and in the accompanying general order he struck a decisive blow against the prevailing evil, drunkenness.

"General Order.—No. 146.

"It having been judged expedient that every corps should have a regimental canteen, in order to prevent soldiers from frequenting wine-houses, which

have ever been the bane of discipline and regularity in this garrison, and to enable them to enjoy themselves without quitting the barracks, no non-commissioned officer, drummer, or private whatever, is permitted at any time to enter a wine-house, tavern, or house of any retailer or vender of wine or spirituous liquors: they are required to confine themselves either to the canteen of their own regiment, or to three houses licensed to sell malt liquor only, as described in No. 150. The same prohibition is to extend to their purchasing liquor, but from the man who holds the canteen of their own corps, unless it be malt liquor, which they are at liberty to obtain from one of the houses above named. *Any disobedience* of this order will meet with the most exemplary punishment, as upon the punctual observance of it so much of the regularity and good order of the garrison wholly depends. But in order that inhabitants who hold wine-house licences may be as little as possible affected by this prohibition, every regimental canteen man is strictly forbidden from selling wine or any liquor to any person except the non-commissioned officers and men of the regiment, for whose sole use he is permitted to hold it."*

* As in the public prints of the day, the mutiny is described as "attributable *solely* to the cruelty of the Governor, and his perpetual interference with the comforts of the men," it may not be unadvisable to print verbatim (see Illustration D,) His Royal Highness's orders relative to "the canteen," and that which refers to the employment of the troops. To the military reader they will, perhaps, afford matter of interest.

Meanwhile at the regimental mess of more than one corps, the most insubordinate language was in vogue, and conversation whose freedom bordered on democracy was sported and tolerated.

Unquestionably the officers had matter of mortal quarrel with the Duke. Their grievances were heavy, their wrongs deep and unexampled. Ample right had they to demand redress. A load of oppression crushed them! What bitter hardships were the following!

"The officers were taken from backgammon to manœuvre their companies; from making bar-points, to points of duty; from entering men, to drilling them; from taking up *wooden men*, to prevent *real men* from deserving to be taken up; they were called from surrounding the hollow square of a billiard table, to learn the formation of one in the field; they were withdrawn from knocking about *red* balls, to be taught how to direct hot balls; from making a cannon, to using one; they were brought under the cruel necessity of substituting the sword and the musket for the mace and queue: there was some difference in the occupations, doubtless; but it was incumbent on the Governor to point it out; and it was the duty of the officers to obey him." They submitted with reluctance; deep, manifest, indefensible, and *infectious*.

Meanwhile the clamours of those parties whose licences the Duke, to the detriment of his own income, had suppressed, were incessant. They had derived a large profit by selling poison to the troops—the term is used advisedly, for the mortality among the military

at the Rock previous to the Duke's arrival was unparalleled—and bitter was their animosity towards the apostle of temperance and order.

To the unscrupulous misrepresentation and inflammatory language of these men, was added the agency of infamous females, who distributed spirits among the soldiery, to infuriate their minds, and excite them by the most profligate arts to fatal and desperate outbreaks.

These various agencies could produce but one result. The mutiny at last broke out, and thus:—

"The second battalion of the Royals having made too free with liquor, (in consequence of having their balances paid them,) on the evening of the 24th of December forced open the barrack gates, and seizing their arms, vowed vengeance on the Adjutant, who had ordered that they should not be suffered to go into the town. To this officer, it appears, they had an inveterate hatred; not finding him, they ran to the barracks of the 25th regiment, and endeavoured to persuade that corps to join them. Failing in this attempt, they sent a large party to the 54th regiment, where they were received by the grenadier company of that corps with a pretty smart and galling fire, which wounded five of them. In less than an hour all was quiet, and the next day they appeared so perfectly contrite, that His Royal Highness the Governor, after animadverting forcibly upon the enormity of their conduct, forgave it. But on the 26th of December, the 25th regiment (which had behaved so well on the

24th of the month) having now received their balances, and having got drunk, behaved in the same manner as the Royals had done on Christmas-eve. A party of the artillery, in firing upon some of them, who were disorderly and mutinous, unfortunately hit a detachment of the Royals, who were approaching to assist the artillery in quelling the mutiny, killed one man, and wounded five; besides killing two of the 25th regiment. On the 27th of December, thirteen of the ringleaders were taken up in order to be tried for mutiny. The garrison was then perfectly quiet, and a general sentiment of abhorrence for what had passed seemed to prevail.

"The riotous conduct of the 25th regiment when they got their balances, was brought about by the insinuations of a number of discontented foreigners, who have found a place in its ranks."*

Another account of the affair runs thus:—

"A general spirit of insubordination, long smouldering in secret, at length found vent in a mutiny of a most alarming nature, which broke out on Christmas-eve, 1802. The ringleaders—they belonged to the Duke's own corps, the Royals—expected to be joined by other troops, but were disappointed. By the spirited exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, who commanded the 54th, the mutiny was crushed in less than three hours after it commenced. No lives were lost, and those who were wounded were but few, and

* Letter from Gibraltar, dated 27th December, 1802. The foreigners alluded to were chiefly Dutchmen.

their hurts not serious; they belonged to the Royals, and suffered under the fire of the 54th. That regiment behaved well on that occasion. The 25th and 26th of December arrived—during these days the Royals upbraided every man of the 25th whom they met, as a traitor to the cause, for not having joined them on the evening of the 24th.

"On the night of the 26th, after the men of the 25th had had a long and deep carouse, and had well wetted the usual Christmas donation of a shilling per man from the captains of companies, the treatment which they, the 25th, had experienced throughout the day from the Royals, became the subject of earnest debate, and produced a tumult in the former corps. On a sudden a third part of the regiment terminated all discussion, madly rushed to arms, and immediately attacked the barracks of the Royals. The alarm created by this latter proceeding was great and universal. The orderly part of the garrison scarcely knew what result to expect. Every other corps, however, the Royals nobly setting the example, requested His Royal Highness to put himself at their head; and it is but justice to the Royals to state, that they did their duty well *on that night.* By one o'clock in the morning tranquillity was again restored. When the mutiny first broke out in the Royals, nothing but the most pressing solicitations on the part of Major-General Barnett, of the 3d regiment of Guards, the second in command, and some of the senior officers of the garrison, had induced His Royal Highness, contrary to his own

convictions, to consider it as expiated for the time being, by the execution done on some of the mutineers by the fire of the 54th regiment.

"On the present occasion, when a similar attempt was made to persuade him to show similar leniency to the case of the 25th regiment, he felt it a duty incumbent on him firmly to resist it. He therefore caused the ringleaders to be seized, and brought to trial; but out of ten who were condemned to die three only were executed. By this firm, seasonable, and necessary measure, he extinguished the embers of mutiny, and in the course of a few days had the satisfaction to see good order re-established, and all the troops brought back to a state of the most perfect discipline and obedience.

"Who were the real ringleaders in the affair is but too clearly established by the following painful document. It is a melancholy confession, but bears throughout the stern impress of truth.

"It was made by HENRY SALISBURY, at a time when he was free from all apprehension of punishment, when there could be no motive to invent a falsehood, and when no inducement was held out to persuade him to sign the declaration, in the presence of three gentlemen, now alive, (1804,) two of them officers in the King's service, and the third a surgeon holding a commission under His Majesty.

"'Dedham Prison Ship, Medina River,
Isle of Wight, Nov. 26, 1804.

"'Having had time to think on the past events of my life, I conceive it my duty as a soldier, and for the

case of my conscience, to make the following confession of circumstances that have come within my knowledge:—

"'1st. That the mutiny was formed and conducted by the officers of the garrison, and that those officers *were of the first rank!*'

"'2d. That a committee was formed for the payment of those more immediately active; that this committee was held at the "Three Guns Inn," near the main-guard; that they (the ringleaders) attended this committee, and received money from them.

"'3d. That His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was to be taken from the guard-parade at the time of divine service, and placed on board one of His Majesty's ships of war, with orders not to return on pain of death, and that His Royal Highness was to embark at the Ragged Staff.

"'4th. That this plan was not put in execution because the committee had learned that the scheme had been made known to His Royal Highness; and that *the signal for seizing His Royal Highness was to have been given by an* OFFICER.

"'5th. On inquiry of Francis Fell, Isaac Saville, and Peter Clarke, of the 25th, who were mutineers, for the purpose of making it known who *the officers were that formed the committee*, they, with a most horrid oath, swore they would never tell; they also said they were determined to go to the grave with the secret; for whilst —— was at their back they should never want a friend, as he would ever stick close to them.

"'6th. I also declare that they received, after embarking at Gibraltar, a letter containing money, which letter they burned immediately afterwards.

"'7th. Were I to judge of what they say, talking about the committee, I should suppose that it must have been composed of the following officers, of whom they are constantly talking: of Captain ——, and ——, of the Royals, and two officers of the name of ——, ——. To what I have asserted and signed, I am ready and willing to depose on oath at any time.

(Signed) "'HENRY SALISBURY,
"*Late of the 25th Regiment.*

"'*Read and signed in the presence of Captain, &c. &c. &c. &c.*'"

But will it not be conceded that from the lips of surviving actors in a scene like the foregoing—how subordinate soever a part they may have taken in the transaction—one may glean much curious detail as to what preceded and followed such a catastrophe?

In the course of my researches, I met with an old soldier who had served at Gibraltar during the entire period of the Duke's command there. He gave me his opinion very freely touching that "*rare shindy!*" I am by no means sure that the veteran was not one of the mutineers himself! At all events, he had a very suspicious sympathy with the three men who were executed. He shook his head when their fate was alluded to, and said, "Ah! I knew them well. They were all three fine fellows. Better soldiers never presented arms. Two of them were Dutchmen,

Pastoret and Teighman, the third, Reilly, was an Irishman—a daring dog!"

"You say, Sir," continued he, "that it was the men as mutinied. *You say very wrong.* It wor not. It wor the officers. They mutinied *fust.* I say they did—*fust.* For I wor a mess waiter: and heerd much of their talk: and bitter agen the Duke it sartainly wor. It soon reached the ranks. It set all wrong there: for it pisoned the minds of the men; and the head mutineer was General Barnett himself! No other than he! That's Gospel truth; and I'll maintain it to the death. He never let slip the chance of saying something awry agen the Duke's general orders, or the Duke's plans, or the Duke's parades. And didn't I hear General Barnett say, if I ever heerd living man speak upon this wicked earth—didn't I hear him say the morning after the row, that '*it was the best thing that could have happened: now we shall get rid of him?*' meaning the Duke. The men wor blameable, no doubt. But who *fust set the tub a rolling?* Who fust? The tails, mayhap, had something to do with it."

"What tails?"

"Pig-tails," was the reply. "The Duke set great store by them; and was onaccountable nice about them. That and his temperance fairly upset him."

"The first time I ever heard of temperance being injurious to any man, soldier or civilian."

"It wor to him," said the old man doggedly—"he wor too temperate; he certainly wor—*for a soldier.*

Iss—he wor the Father Mathew of his family:—they hadn't another in it, I fancy—but it didn't do for Gib. Body and soul, Sir, you parson-gentlemen, who live at home in your church-houses—you've no idee of what the Rock was at that particular time. Several of the regiments there were just returned from India, flush of money—India pay at that time o' day was worth the counting—and drink they WOULD have. Wine was to be had at 'Gib' of all sorts: some very good; some indifferent; and some"—here the old veteran made an indescribable wry face—"was desperate rot-gut stuff! Curses on them that brewed it! It shut up many a stout fellow afore his time in his wooden great coat. But there the liquor was, at all prices, easily got, and the men would have it. To be sure"—and the old campaigner laughed—"things were come to a pretty pass before the Duke *jyned!* The men were part slovens and part rebels. And as for the women creatures, they could neither stir in the streets, nor rest quiet at their homes, specially at nights, on account of the soldiers being all about on the stroll—wicked—drunk, and audacious lively. The quiet ones—the civilians, and such like,—what complaints they did make, surely, of what they called 'military licence!' However, the Duke soon put all that down. No more larking after he came. He shut up many of the wine-houses; and all the others he curbed up pretty tightly. But it had nearly cost him his life, that it had."

"How?"

"Why, d'ye see, Sir—there was a blunder. The men warn't quite unanimous. On Christmas-eve the Royals broke out in mutiny, and went to the quarters of the 25th regiment, and expected the men would join them. *But they didn't.* On the 26th o' December the 25th broke out and went to the Royals, and expected the Royals to join 'em, and then *they* wouldn't—and so the mutiny was crushed. But if, on the first outbreak, on Christmas-eve, both regiments had been unanimous, the Duke would have never seen England again. And yet there wor a deal o' kindness about the Duke too. He never forgot the sick soldier; went to the hospital, saw that justice was done to the poor fellows there; and would listen patiently to any request a poor devil had to make. But for a soldier, mark you—for a soldier—he wor—he certainly wor—too temperate. That's Gospel truth. And I'll die in it."

Another old veteran, whose acquaintance I had the honour of making some few months afterwards—he was a Chelsea pensioner, and had served in the Cameronians—thus delivered himself:—

"The Duke of Kent! I recollect him right well. *He was a very bad man.* He would NOT LET US DRINK. He was wuss than any teetotaller going. Much wuss. He said a soldier might do without drink! An unpossibility! A rank, sheer, downright unpossibility. And then his hours—he was up before the sun! And the parades—he never missed one. There was one word always foremost in his Prayer-book

—the word DUTY—and by that he swore. But he was very near being sent over the Rock for all that. The men said, indeed, that they intended to ship him on board the *Active*, which was then lying in the bay. But, once in the soldiers' hands, he would never have gone up the side of H. M.'s. sloop *Active*, or any other sloop. And, by the way, a mischance attended her. Either the day before or the day after the mutiny she was struck with lightning, and severely damaged. But whether 'taut' or 'crippled,' that was the vessel the mutineers talked of putting the Duke aboard of, with orders never to land upon the Rock no more. The *Europa* battery saved him. Yes, the Royal Artillery regiment did their duty well that day; and so did 'The King's regiment;' and so did the 54th. He was noble-looking, was the Duke, Sir—noble, noble—but had rather too much iron in him. And, Sir, few of his officers stood by him—very, very few—about the wine-houses particularly. In that matter he stood alone, Sir—almost, if not altogether alone."

"And if he did?" said I; "when either evil is to be done, or good neglected, how much better is it to go the right way *alone* than to err in company!"

"So 'tis held, Sir, by gentlemen of your cloth; red-coats think differently. To be sure, 'twas surprising how the deaths in the garrison diminished after many of them wine-shops were shut up. The sick list was wonderfully shortened. Perhaps the

Duke meant us well. But about parades and wine-shops his notions were most cussedly onaccountable."

On a calm review of the whole affair at Gibraltar, there seems nothing which the most ardent admirer of the Duke need shrink from contemplating. His administration of the government was marked by no features of cruelty, partiality, vindictiveness, or cupidity. A thorough soldier, he paid a fearful penalty to a sense of duty. He found the garrison abandoned to intemperance—licentious, insubordinate, unsoldier-like. To remedy these evils was his plain and paramount duty as a Commander-in-Chief. His mission from England had that special end in view. He effected it, not with the aid, but in spite of the apathy and opposition of his officers. The garrison was in perfect tranquillity, and the troops in real subordination, for three months before he was recalled.

But this result was achieved, not merely at the cost of his own comfort and quiet, but at heavy pecuniary sacrifice.

Every wine-shop he suppressed—every restraint he placed upon those which he permitted to remain open—every check which he imposed upon the sale of spirits within the fortress, AMERCED HIS OWN INCOME. And the ruler, be it remembered, who submitted to this sacrifice was *an embarrassed man.* He was then oppressed by a load of debt from which he was earnestly struggling to be freed. He was at that very moment paying the interest of a bonded debt of 20,000*l.* No allowance, moreover, had been granted

him for his outfit as governor. That appointment he was told at the Treasury was "*so* good" that no allowance for outfit *was ever given.* But its value arose from the fees upon auctions, wine-houses, tavern and spirit licences, practique and quaying fees, of a large proportion of which he was voluntarily stripping himself. To what end? In order that he might terminate the reign of misrule, do away with the painful and constantly recurring court martial,* and save the lives of the soldiery.†

But he might most easily have maintained his income intact—*this how great a temptation to a man beset with difficulties!* All he need have done was *to have been passive:* to have passed over some irregularities: to have been opportunely blind to others. But PRINCIPLE animated his entire career; and the remark of the great Chatham aptly portrays him:—"Beyond question he may safely be called a great man, who, in carrying out the dictates of duty, systematically forgets the claims of self."

* "*Since the Duke of Kent returned,* there have been, in any three months that may be fixed upon, more trials by courts martial than there were DURING HIS WHOLE STAY AT GIBRALTAR. *No small proof of his superior system.*"—"The Duke's Case stated."

† It is capable of proof, and may be substantiated by the books in the office of the Commander-in-Chief, that there were fewer deaths in Gibraltar among the troops by at least one-half during His Royal Highness's command, than there had been in the same space of time for many years before or since.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DUKE'S LIFE IN PERIL — WHO WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN PRESERVING IT — LETTERS — LORD MELBOURNE — A TRAIT OF HIS OFFICIAL CAREER—THE QUEEN'S INTENTIONS RELATIVE TO THE SON OF MAJOR CONNOR.

1803.

The mutiny—repulsive as are its general features—becomes invested with deeper and graver interest, if we believe that part of the scheme involved the assassination of the Duke.

The insurgents, it is true, avowed that if successful they had determined to content themselves with depriving His Royal Highness of his command, and removing him forcibly from the Rock. But who can assign the limits within which an infuriated and triumphant soldiery will be stayed?

It is a touching incident in the Duke's career, that his humanity proved his safeguard. During the period of his command the Duke not only attended to the personal cleanliness of his soldiers, but to the barracks; and particularly to the hospitals, where his presence was almost as regularly given as the attendance of the medical men. His humanity impelled him to see that the sick were diligently waited on, and he

gratified his benevolence by knowing that they had every necessary medicine and comfort.

During one of these visits, a sick soldier, who was sinking rapidly under the inroads of confirmed intemperance, "contrived to arrest the Duke's attention,* and in a low whisper warned him of the plot, then almost matured, of seizing him on parade and ejecting him from the Rock. The man, when in health, had been one of the most turbulent in the regiment, and among the most active in exciting and encouraging dissatisfaction among his comrades. The Duke's repeated visits to the hospital and unvarying kindness to its inmates subdued him!"

So true it is, that "in seeking another's good we find our own;" so certain that no deed of mercy can be barren of blessing! The favour of HIM who is ALL-MERCIFUL speeds and prospers it. It will assuredly bear fruit an hundredfold; the promise is clear and enduring,—"Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days."

That the Prince himself deemed his life endangered, is a fair inference from his remark to Mrs. Tidy, the wife of an officer of that name, who had served in the Royals, and to whom the Duke was deeply and deservedly attached. His daughter, Mrs. Ward, thus writes of that eventful period:†—

* "Summary of Events which immediately preceded and followed the Mutiny at Gibraltar." By a Military Observer.

† Recollections of "An Old Soldier." By Mrs. Ward. Bentley: 1849.

"At the first rumour of the disaffection of the troops, Captain Tidy hastened to the quarters of his own company, in order, if possible, at all events to soothe and quiet those under his command. Upon approaching the spot where a number of the mutineers were collected together, he heard one of the men cry out, 'There he is! d—n him—kill him!' Perfectly satisfied that he was one of the last men whom the soldiers of the Royals would wish to injure, he called out, 'What for, my men?' He who had spoken, recognising his captain's voice, and seeing his face by the light of the lamp by which he was standing, instantly said, 'Oh, no! that is Captain Tidy, God bless him!' And he passed among them unmolested, while his words made a due impression.

"The following day he was on guard; and the Duke of Kent having sent several officers to the quarters of the soldiers to pacify them, without success, and being informed where Captain Tidy was, immediately had him relieved. Upon his arrival in his Royal Highness's presence, the Duke at once requested his services. Such was the influence of this very young soldier with the men of his regiment, that they attended to his remonstrances, and, respecting his opinion, became in a short time comparatively quiet and peaceable.

"In later years, when alluding, in conversation with his family, to the mutiny at Gibraltar, we have a clear recollection of the recital he gave of *the peril in which the Duke stood during that affair*. It would be too

much to assert that Colonel Tidy was entirely instrumental in assisting His Royal Highness to evade the fury and pursuit of the misguided soldiery; but that he was of essential service to the Prince on this momentous occasion, was evidenced by the Duke's own words, when he, by accident, met my father after the return of the latter from the Greek islands in 1817, when, laying his hand on Colonel Tidy's shoulder, His Royal Highness said to my mother, who stood by, 'Did your husband never tell you that *he saved my life?*'"

The two next letters are interesting from their incidental reference to the mutiny, and the insight they give us into the Duke's feelings with reference to his professional prospects:—

"Castle Hill Lodge, Dec. 28, 1803.

"DEAR CAPTAIN TIDY,—I had the pleasure of receiving, on the 14th of last month, your letter of the 31st of August; and was made very happy in learning from it that you were in good health, and pleased with the situation in which you were placed.

"You will easily believe that I was not a little gratified with the accounts I received of the very gallant conduct of the 2d battalion (Royal regiment) at the attack of Morne Fortunée, but cannot say I was surprised, for I never entertained a doubt of their mettle: characters of the description of which the major part of the corps consists, are generally very full of spirits in the presence of the enemy, although they give a

great deal of trouble to their commanding officer when in quarters. I have, however, had the satisfaction of hearing from Colonel Macdonald, that since they have been at Tobago they have generally behaved themselves well, *so that I should hope they are beginning to lose their Gibraltar ways.* I believe the manner in which they distinguished themselves on the occasion above alluded to, has gone a great way towards wiping off *the stain they drew upon themselves by the crime they committed this time twelvemonth.* I therefore feel particularly anxious that they should, by a continuance of regularity and good conduct, confirm the favourable opinion of them which the world have of late seemed willing to adopt.

"With respect to yourself, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to forward your promotion, as on every account I am most anxious to serve you; but I find it is a determined point with the Commander-in-Chief, that no officer in the West Indies shall obtain advancement unless through the Commander of the forces there; who, on the other hand, is positively tied down, in all vacancies that offer without purchase, to submit the name of none other than the senior officer of the rank present in the country, without attention whatever to corps or anything else.

"Should any expedition be determined on against Martinique or Guadaloupe, nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to head it: indeed, if an opening is given me, I certainly would volunteer that service; should my offer be accepted, it may *then,*

perhaps, be in my power to do something for you, and you may rest assured that I should neglect no opportunity that might offer to befriend you, consistent with my promises to those who have long been my followers.

"I shall now only offer you the assurances of my best wishes, and subscribe myself, with sincere regard and esteem,

"Dear Captain Tidy, ever yours,

"Most faithfully and truly,

"EDWARD.

"*Captain Tidy, &c.*"

"Kensington Palace, Dec. 22, 1805.

"DEAR CAPTAIN TIDY,—The departure of my highly esteemed friend, General Bowyer, to take upon himself the command of His Majesty's forces in the West Indies, affords me too good an opportunity of writing to you, not to render me very desirous of availing myself of it, to acknowledge three letters of yours, which I am ashamed to think have lain by me so long unanswered. These are of the 23d of February, 19th of April, and 12th of June. Since that period you have lost your worthy General, Sir William Myers, and I in him a friend, for whom I entertained the warmest regard and esteem. I hope, however, this melancholy event will not prove to be seriously injurious to your interests, for I have recommended you strongly to the new Commander, who, I am happy to find, knows you already, and seems

well disposed towards you; whatever he may have it in his power to recommend you for, within the limits of his command, I shall be most ready to afford all the assistance in my power to get confirmed, if you think my interference necessary to that effect.

"At the time I received your letter of the 19th of April, in which you solicited my sanction for your remaining with Sir William Myers in the event of the first battalion of the Royals coming home, it had been just determined that they should remain, and the skeleton of the second come to Britain in their stead, otherwise the permission you requested would not have been delayed a moment.

"I received infinite pleasure, some weeks ago, in hearing Sir George Provost, who was so good as to call, speak of the conduct of my second battalion at St. Lucie, and I then learnt what I never knew before, that it was owing to his exertions that the battalion got the post of honour on that occasion which General ——* had with his usual delicacy intended to exclude them from.

"The whole of the officers and men of that battalion having now passed into the first, I trust, should that part of the corps be called into action, they will not fail in showing the same spirit.

"Of the success of our recruiting, I am sorry to have but a very bad report to make you, which is to be attributed to *two* causes; the *one*, our having a part of the

* The names of those of whom the Duke of Kent had just reason to speak disparagingly are purposely omitted.

corps in the West Indies, to which the recruits are fearful of being drafted; the other, the injury that has been done to the interests of the corps in North Britain, in consequence of the falsehoods propagated by * * * and their emissaries. However, I trust a time will come when they will be made to repent their conduct.

"I am sure you will have heard with pleasure of my having declined the Guards upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester, and no less so of my promotion to the rank of Field Marshal, *which was the spontaneous act of the King;* otherwise, no change has taken place in my situation whatsoever.

"But it is now time to conclude, which I shall do with most hearty good wishes for your health, welfare, and happiness, and the assurance that I ever remain with friendship, esteem, and regard,

"Dear Captain Tidy,

"Yours most faithfully and sincerely,

"EDWARD.

"P.S.—*December 25th.*—Just as I am going to make this letter up to forward to General Bowyer at Portsmouth, I have the pleasure of receiving yours of the 26th of October, which I therefore now avail myself of the present opportunity to acknowledge. Your communication of the measure adopted by General Beckwith, to carry into effect the turning over the men of my second battalion into my first, is the only information I have had upon that subject, and therefore peculiarly satisfactory. I only hope he

has received a letter I did myself the pleasure of writing to him about three months since, upon the subject of those of the sergeants and band whom I wished to come home, as it would be a heavy disappointment to me should any of these I wish to bring to this country be left behind, or any return whom I was desirous to have turned over to the first battalion.

"From the manner in which you are so good as to name the circumstance of my remaining Colonel of the Royals, I am highly gratified to find that I have not been mistaken in what I have allowed myself to say in the preceding part of this letter. I am not less flattered with the wish you express of being allowed to serve with me, in the event of my being named to a continental command, and you may be assured there is no officer whom I should be more happy to have with me; but I fear there is but little chance under existing circumstances of so much good fortune falling to my lot, as my being thought of for any command.

"*You who know how matters stand between me and a certain quarter, will understand this without my saying more.*

"*To Captain Tidy.*"

But this popular officer was not the only red-coat who on that eventful evening had the happiness of being instrumental in preserving the Duke's life. A brave young officer named Connor commanded the advanced guard on that occasion, and to his promptitude and energy in firing on the mutineers, and com-

pelling them to retire to their regiments, has been attributed the saving of the life of the Governor. On various occasions His Royal Highness acknowledged the services rendered by young Connor as services of no common kind, and in 1811 commanded the annexed assurance of patronage to be addressed to him.

"His Royal Highness trusts that you will do him the justice to believe that his friendship and regard for your interests will ever make him a ready co-operator in your behalf, whenever it can be done with the least chance of success."

Letters, not one or two, but many, are in the possession of Major Connor's son, the active and exemplary minister of St. Simon's Church, Liverpool, all breathing the most cordial attachment to him on the part of the Duke, and exhibiting the untiring efforts of His Royal Highness to serve him.

In 1831 Major Connor ventured to memorialize the illustrious widow of his former friend in behalf of his only son, then about to take holy orders.

The reply of the Duchess, in keeping with all her communications to those who seek her aid, was immediate, considerate, and kind.

"I have," wrote her private secretary, "Her Royal Highness's commands to state that Her Royal Highness is always disposed, when in her power, to serve those officers who were protected by the late Duke of Kent. But on this occasion, as it adverts to a distant contingency, Her Royal Highness can only sanction your

renewing your request when your son enters the profession for which you design him."

In 1840, Major Connor having died in the interim, his son the clergyman submitted a memorial to the Queen.

In it he dwelt on his father's military career; the service which he was so happy as to render at Gibraltar to Her Majesty's illustrious father; the cordial recognition of that service, and the warm and life-long regard which the late Duke of Kent evinced towards him. He prayed that his father's services might be recognised in his own person.

Her Majesty's answer was instant and most gracious.

"I am directed to inform you, that Her Majesty was pleased to refer your memorial IMMEDIATELY to Lord Melbourne for his Lordship's consideration."

Lord Melbourne never could find ten minutes' leisure to see Mr. Connor, and glance over the Duke of Kent's letters; never could find a small living to bestow on the son of the man whose decision and daring had saved the father of the reigning Sovereign from a misguided and infuriated soldiery.

Mr. Connor has begged me to give *in his own words* his account of his father's gallant bearing on the night of the mutiny. Let him be heard on a point so deeply interesting to him.

"It was ordered that the knavish politics of the mutineers should be checked. A young soldier, whose

sword was first drawn for the suppression of the Irish rebellion in the year '98, was then in one of the regiments at Gibraltar. He saw the gathering storm, and his ear heard the mutterings of discontent. He made his report to Colonel Darby of the base purposes of the disaffected. Thus the officers of the garrison were prepared. This young man was selected to command the advanced guard of his regiment. Who more devoted or more faithful could be found for the night of trial? The mutineers came down in wild disorder to the parade. He marked their approach. He knew the consequence of giving them even the semblance of success. Moreover, it was his conviction that if he suffered them to pass the men under his command, the Duke hearing the tumult would, with the promptitude and energy which ever marked his character, come forth to face the danger: He knew that this was what the mutineers desired. Therefore, on his own responsibility, he called upon his men to show their faithfulness to their King, and their love to the King's son, the gallant Edward. His men responded to the appeal; their muskets were presented. His next word was, 'Fire!' It was obeyed. In an instant the traitors felt that their plans were discovered; that the spirit of disaffection was not general; and dragging their wounded companions they retreated to their quarters. It is but right to mention the name of this young soldier—'Connor;'* and the

* He died in 1837, leaving an only child, who is now Perpetual Curate of St. Simon's Church, Liverpool.

sense the Duke entertained of his services may be gathered from the following expressions contained in a letter written by His Royal Highness's command." *

Mr. Connor, the pastor of a poor but attached flock, may well cherish the name and memory of such a parent; and dwell with lofty and pardonable pride on *the leading incident* of a life devoted to the service of his country, and marked by the most reverential recognition of his God.

* See ante, p. 119.

CHAPTER X.

THE RECALL FROM GIBRALTAR.

1803—1804.

THREE months wore away. Tranquillity was restored to the garrison. The troops were thoroughly subordinate. Courts-martial had become unfrequent. Punishments had ceased to be hideous spectacles of daily occurrence. The hospital was no longer crowded with sick soldiery; and the writing-table of the Governor no longer laden with letters complaining of the lawlessness of the troops. The reign of order had commenced. It was momentarily shaken by the arrival of news intimating the recall of the Duke of Kent to England.

The bearer of this intelligence was the Duke's military secretary, Captain Dodd.

Acting on his own judgment, the Duke had transmitted to England by each succeeding mail a *précis* of events in the order they had arisen. The report was little more than a summary of facts, the Duke purposely reserving his comments till the departure of Captain Dodd, who was to convey them to England. Pressing and unavoidable circumstances prevented this officer from leaving Gibraltar till the close of January.

By him the Duke wrote in detail, disclosing in the most frank and candid terms the causes of the outbreak, and pointing out the necessity—on grounds which could not be controverted—of removing the second in command, General Barnett, as well as some commanding officers of regiments who had notoriously neglected their duty. But though His Royal Highness proved in the clearest manner where the blame rested, and though his reports for nine successive weeks fully satisfied the Government at home that by his firm and unfaltering measures he had thoroughly subdued the turbulent disposition of the troops, his recall was at once and irrevocably decided on by the Commander-in-Chief.

It was stated confidently at the time, and never contradicted, that the King was far from being persuaded of the necessity for this harsh step. And it is notorious that the Prince of Wales denounced it as "a premium for encouraging mutiny—a measure at once absurd and unjust." But the Duke of York "*insisted*" on his brother's recall, and enforced it.

In consequence of this determination at the Horse Guards, Captain Dodd returned to Gibraltar in the month of March, 1803, carrying out with him instructions for His Royal Highness to return to England, for the purpose of communicating with His Majesty's confidential servants on what had passed in that garrison. The Duke, *in order that every possible mortification might be heaped on him*, was bidden to resign his trust into the hands of his second in com-

mand—General Barnett!!—until the arrival of the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Thomas Trigge. The latter part of these instructions the Duke resisted. An innate and imperious sense of justice compelled him to take this course. Instead, therefore, of handing over the garrison to General Barnett, he determined to await patiently the arrival of Sir Thomas, which took place on the 21st of April. Nor did he, and wisely, quit "the Rock" even then. He remained ten days longer, for the purpose of pointing out, in detail, to Sir Thomas, the restored discipline of the garrison. The superseded, but not disgraced, Governor, laid before the future commandant of Gibraltar its *then* condition so circumstantially, as to enable Sir Thomas to judge of the excellent order in which the Duke handed over the fort to his successor: a truth which the latter not only fully admitted, but faithfully recorded in an enduring document.

The *main* fact lies in a small compass. His Royal Highness handed over to Sir Thomas Trigge, *troops who could* THEN *do duty*. On the 1st of May, the Duke sailed for England, where he arrived on the 26th. His first care was to address himself to his brother Frederick, the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of demanding an immediate investigation into his conduct. He made it a matter of pressing and earnest request, that, waiving all the privileges of his rank, a court-martial might be forthwith assembled to sit in judgment on his entire course of proceeding at Gibraltar. This he was desirous should be submitted

to the most rigid scrutiny. His suit was negatived. The assembling of a court-martial to "adjudicate upon the propriety or impropriety of the actions of an officer of his rank, was manifestly inexpedient." No such court of inquiry could be granted. He then pleaded for the summoning of any other tribunal, to which the charges whispered, rather than made, against him could be referred. This was negatived. He then demanded permission to return to his government. No! *that* must be withheld.

After months had worn away in weary and fruitless attempts to procure inquiry and redress, he was at length told, on the 13th of September,—after he had complained of the affront he had received, by the *Lieutenant*-Governor of Gibraltar's having suspended all his orders—*he himself still remaining Governor*—and having furthermore suffered discipline to relapse into that state of insubordination, licentiousness, and misrule, which he had been professedly sent out to reform,—that, to cut the matter short, he, the Commander-in-Chief, had taken upon himself to sanction, confirm, and approve *all* Sir Thomas Trigge's acts and proceedings.

The more keenly this painful incident is investigated, the more difficult is it to discover on what principle such a rank denial of justice can be extenuated.

Quelling a mutiny has always been held by military writers, the most arduous task of an able general. It demands four grand requisites: promptitude, judgment, coolness, courage. And he who has succeeded

in suppressing a military insurrection, has ever been regarded as meriting the lasting approbation of his countrymen. If this conclusion be sound, what epithet is too harsh for those who, after such a signal service so opportunely rendered, could deliberately and determinedly blight the professional prospects, and drive into unmerited obscurity, a gallant and chivalrous prince, whose abiding, earnest, and inextinguishable impulse, was to serve his country?

There was, however, one member of his family, whose cordial sympathy he possessed, and who gave him every support—the heir apparent.* The Prince of Wales took no pains to conceal that he "considered his brother deeply and intolerably injured." His opinion was very promptly and intelligibly expressed. On a particular occasion, when it was known that the assemblage would be large, and a gathering of officers would be present, the Prince of Wales, in the most public manner, accompanied his brother, *arm-in-arm*, to the parade at the Horse Guards. He did more. The following, if we may credit one of the best informed periodicals of the day, was an unexpected and personal remonstrance, of which Mr. Addington was doomed to be a most reluctant and uneasy auditor:—

"You send a man out to control a garrison, all but in a state of open mutiny. You tell him to terminate such a disgraceful state of things. You assure him of

* The Duke alludes very touchingly to this exhibition of fraternal affection, in a letter, written subsequently to his brother, when Regent, in the month of June, 1815.

the unqualified support of Government in his undertaking. He goes out. He finds matters infinitely worse than they were represented. The impending outbreak occurs. He quells it THOROUGHLY. By way of reward you disgrace him! If you wish to deter an officer from doing his duty, or desire to encourage a mutinous soldier, your tactics are admirable. They cannot fail to attain such a result. Edward may well complain. He were neither officer nor man if he were silent."

But if rank injustice was dealt out to him at home, those best qualified, from their position and opportunities, to judge of his motives and merits, paid him willing and ample homage abroad.

That he had won the esteem and confidence of the people of Gibraltar, is established by the following fact. Some time after he had been recalled, *and in the teeth of the existing authorities*, the inhabitants remitted the sum of 1,000 guineas to Captain Dodd, his military secretary, to purchase a piece of plate as a memento of their attachment to His Royal Highness, and their *perfect approbation* of his conduct during his government.

The offering was accepted, and expended in the purchase of a diamond Garter, to correspond with the Star voted him by the legislature. He might well be proud of both insignia!

It was no mean triumph to him too, in after years, that many of the men and several of the officers who had condemned his discipline and opposed his mea-

sures at Gibraltar, avowed their wish to serve under him again, and their conviction that he was right. One of his schemes also, so long as it was permitted to be in operation, worked well,—viz. the brewery, which he suggested, established, and patronised, in the well-founded hope that by the introduction of malt liquors he should diminish among the troops the use of ardent spirits.

But perhaps the most irrefragable testimony to the value of the Duke's discipline was that given by General Sir William Fawcett, for many years Adjutant-General under the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief; an authority which none will suspect of being *unduly biassed.*

General Sir William Fawcett declared that he "had received both edification and pleasure in perusing it;* that no officer in that or any other garrison, who makes the exact and regular performance of all the duties incidental to that situation the primary object of his attention, which he certainly ought to do, can set up any just or well-founded objections against it."

The General further held, "that the highest praise was due to the Duke of Kent for so enlightened and excellent a system; the more so because it was a branch of the public service which had been most neglected."

After this emphatic testimony from a veteran officer, admirably qualified to give an opinion on such a

* The Duke's "Military Code of Instructions for the Garrison at Gibraltar."

subject, it is painful to peruse the following official documents, which indicate but not explain the Duke's recall.

"Whitehall, March 5, 1803.

"SIR,—The King has commanded me to signify to your Royal Highness His Majesty's pleasure that His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent should return to England immediately, upon the consideration that it might be desirable that the different departments of His Majesty's Government at home should have the advantage of some personal communication with His Royal Highness, upon the recent events in Gibraltar.

"It is His Majesty's pleasure that, upon His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent's leaving the garrison of Gibraltar, General Barnett should continue in the command of that garrison until such time as Lieutenant-Governor Trigge should arrive there.

(Signed) "PELHAM.

"*Field Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c. &c.*"

"His Royal Highness (the Duke of York) having received His Majesty's commands, through Lord Pelham, for your Royal Highness's return to England, to explain in person the circumstances connected with the recent events that have occurred at Gibraltar, he reserves, until your arrival, making any observations in

reply to the several parts of your letters, relative to the mutiny of the 2d battalion of the Royals, and the 25th regiment.

(Signed) "BROWNRIGG."

As the preceding letter, containing the order for his recall, was transmitted to him by the Commander-in-Chief, it was natural for His Royal Highness, after his arrival in England, to apply, through the same channel, for the desired personal communication with the different departments of His Majesty's Government, under pretence of which he had been decoyed from his government. His Royal Highness accordingly wrote to the Duke of York, on the 28th of May, 6th, 20th, 27th, and 30th of June, applying to him, as the head of his profession, for facilities for obtaining a personal communication with Lord Pelham, and His Majesty's other Ministers, mentioned in his Lordship's letter, in order to give full and explicit information on the "recent events in Gibraltar." On the 30th of June, however, the Duke received a letter from his royal brother, dated the preceding day, enclosing the following one from Lord Pelham :—

"Whitehall, June 20, 1803.

"SIR,—I have received the honour of your Royal Highness's letter of the 23d June, enclosing one from the Duke of Kent, which, in obedience to your Royal Highness's commands, I herewith return. I had laid before the King the former letter from the Duke of

Kent, which your Royal Highness transmitted to me; and as I have not received any commands from His Majesty upon the subject, there is nothing in my department upon which I have to trouble His Royal Highness with any inquiries.

"I am, Sir,
"Your Royal Highness's
"Most dutiful Servant,
"PELHAM."

The Duke bent, for the present, to the force of circumstances.

Meanwhile, all his regulations—*he still continuing Governor*—underwent the most remarkable relaxation.

His successor, Sir Thomas Trigge, did not venture at first to permit the soldiers to go *publicly* to the wine-houses; but it was winked at.

General Fox, who succeeded Sir Thomas Trigge, not only permitted the soldiers to go openly to these hot-beds of insubordination and disease, but contrived to get fifty wine-houses opened for their accommodation!

The result was soon visible. The Rock speedily regained its former character. It again presented, gaze where you would, an aspect of brutal debauchery. A high military authority thus speaks of the fortress:—

"The barracks appear very indifferent; and while millions have been expended for the last twenty years on the fortifications, the barracks have been much neglected. *This place was always remarkable for drunken-*

ness; and, from what I can see, IT KEEPS UP ITS CHARACTER." *

But a garrison order of General Fox is an awkward document for those who characterise the Duke's orders as unnecessarily stringent. Its tone is lamentable and degrading.

Garrison Order of the Lieutenant-Governor, General Fox.

"Gibraltar, May 28, 1806.

"No. 1. The Lieutenant-Governor is MUCH SHOCKED! at the SHAMEFUL DRUNKENNESS that has *prevailed* in the garrison for these last two days, and he has observed that this has *too often* been the case on the 24th of the month. The Lieutenant-Governor cannot allow himself to suppose that British soldiers can be so absurd and unlike *men*, that they cannot have money in their pockets without making a bad use of it. The Lieutenant-Governor is determined to prevent this in future; and if it cannot be prevented by other means, great severity, and parades every two or three hours, must be resorted to"!!

Father Time! father Time! how signally thy quiet revelations clear the innocent! How mightily does the evidence which thou gradually unrollest silence the calumniator and shame the liar! Honour to thy truth-revealing progress, thou most resistless of all teachers—father Time!

* "Voyage to Cadiz and Gibraltar, 1810, 1811." By Lieut.-General Cockburn.

CHAPTER XI.

MONEY MATTERS.

1804—1805.

On the return of Mr. Pitt to power, in 1804, the Duke took an early opportunity of renewing his claims for consideration at the hands of the Government. He represented to the First Minister of the Crown his inadequate allowance in the outset of his career, which, added to his unprecedented losses in the public service, had been the cause of all his subsequent embarrassments.

Mr. Pitt never wanted sympathy nor generosity. He was a lover of justice, and gave an unqualified assurance that the Duke should be fully remunerated; observing, that otherwise "it would be a disgrace to the nation,"—that he would supersede the occasion for another application by taking the first possible opportunity of introducing the subject and arranging the demands. Mr. Pitt added, that much important business must be got over, and that probably the Duke's concerns could not be thought of until after the close of the session. Under this assurance the Duke was able to satisfy all his creditors; but the whole session

of 1804, and a great part of the subsequent one of 1805, having passed without the fulfilment of Mr. Pitt's promise, the Duke of Kent, being very strongly pressed by the old original creditors, whose bonds had become due early in that year, obtained another interview with Mr. Pitt in July, when the minister intimated the intention of His Majesty to grant 20,000*l.* from the droits of the Admiralty to each of his younger sons immediately, which, he said, he hoped would prove a matter of *temporary* accommodation to the Duke of Kent: but he then positively declared, *that it was not in the least to affect the consideration of his peculiar and distinct claims for his losses, or a compensation for the injury he had sustained through* the delay he had experienced in receiving his parliamentary establishment; observing, that the grant from the droits of the Admiralty would be a spontaneous present from the King to all his younger sons alike.

This intimation was forthwith carried out; and the sum—20,000*l.*—was instantly and faithfully applied by the Duke to cancel the debt originally bonded in 1791.

Nearly at the same period, the Duke of Kent, in behalf of all the younger brothers of His Royal Highness (the Duke of York excepted), undertook to represent their situation to Mr. Pitt, and the total inadequacy of a parliamentary allowance of 12,000*l.* per annum to keep up the appearance expected of them at the time when that allowance was originally

granted, owing to the great depreciation of the currency, and the enormous rise in every article of expenditure. In consequence of this negotiation, the Duke had repeated interviews with Mr. Pitt in Downing-street, during August, 1805; and at the last the Duke of Kent was authorized by the Minister to inform all his brothers that their parliamentary income would, at the opening of the next session, be raised to 18,000*l.* per annum, *clear of all deduction whatsoever;* that it would be left optional with those of the royal Dukes who had apartments at St. James's Palace to continue to have their tables supplied as before by the Board of Green Cloth from the royal kitchen there, or to receive in common with those who were not resident at St. James's an allowance of 5,000*l.* each in lieu thereof; while to all residing in any of the royal palaces, the allowance of fuel and lights was to be continued. At the same time, Mr. Pitt again repeated his promise, *that the individual claim of the Duke of Kent, as before expressed, should be considered as being exclusive of the general arrangements,* observing, that he was fully aware of the hardship of His Royal Highness's situation, and of the difficulties that pressed upon him, and fully admitting the justice of assisting him to get over them.

These reiterated and confident promises, made by a man who unquestionably had the ability, and apparently had the inclination, to perform them, buoyed up His Royal Highness with the hopes of soon sur-

mounting all his difficulties, and repeatedly pacified the clamours of his creditors. Mr. Pitt, however, continued to promise, till death suddenly put an end to all possibility of performance on his part, and transferred the Duke to the tender mercies of his successor.

The Grenville administration was formed; and its haughty chief, when he proposed to augment the incomes of all the royal brothers to 18,000*l.* per annum, took care that these allowances were not exempted from the operation of the income tax, which reduced them to 16,200*l.* Furthermore, no consideration was had in regard to the allowance of table money, which had been especially promised by Mr. Pitt; and every allowance of fuel and lights from the Lord Steward's department, the continuation of which had been particularly stipulated, was taken off; thus creating, in the promise given by Mr. Pitt, and the arrangement carried into effect by Lord Grenville, a difference to the injury of the younger brothers of no less than 6,800*l.* a-year, besides the loss of the advantage of the free supply of fuel and lights, which may, at the lowest rate, be estimated at 1,200*l.* per annum.

From these several causes it was impossible for the Duke of Kent to fulfil those arrangements to his creditors which he had entered into *upon the faith of Mr. Pitt's promised arrangement;* and which had induced him to assure his creditors that the day of payment was at hand, and that he had no doubt but that in

the year 1806 all their demands would be, if not wholly discharged, at least greatly reduced—a result anxiously anticipated but never realized.

On the 5th of September, 1804, His Royal Highness was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal.

With the exception of this solitary cheering ray, the years 1804 and 1805 were overspread with gloom. Hopes of immediate extrication from his difficulties were raised, but—to be disappointed. The relief tendered by Lord Grenville fell far short of that promised by Mr. Pitt. His Royal Highness was left to the certain and rapid accumulation of debt consequent upon interest accruing upon interest; * and, though the payment of his debts was the subject uppermost in his thoughts, and the result he was daily striving to compass, that consummation—however earnestly and anxiously desired—it was never His Royal Highness's happy lot to realize.

The annexed tabular statements—by way of contrast—will throw some light on the Duke's oft repeated declaration, that "though he never had the presumption to entertain the slightest idea that the country would pay his debts, he yet thought he was entitled to struggle for the recovery of his just claims —these, if conceded, *would discharge every embarrassment he had in the world.*"

* It would be EASY *to prove* by figures that, up to the time of his decease, the amount of his losses in money *bonâ fide* paid on account of his various equipments, captured or wrecked, was, *at the least*, FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS!

Comparative Statement of the advantages received by the Dukes of Clarence and Kent from Government between the years 1790 *and* 1814.

1. The Duke of Clarence enjoyed his Parliamentary income from the age of *twenty-four*.	1. The Duke of Kent only received his at the age of *thirty-two*.
2. The Duke of Clarence, when in difficulties, was relieved with 6,000*l.* from Government in 1796, with 15,000*l.* in 1802, and with 13,000*l.* in 1814.	2. The Duke of Kent never received any aid but 6,000*l.*, of which he returned 1,000*l.*
3. The Duke of Clarence has, from October 1798 to the present time, had 2,500*l.* from the Civil List, annually.	3. The Duke of Kent has had no addition whatever from that source.
4. From the year 1789, when the Duke of Clarence had his establishment, until 1806, (at which the tables ceased,) he had the advantage of the King's table at St. James's.	4. For the loss of which advantage, the Duke of Kent never had a shilling's compensation.

Comparative Statement of the advantages derived by the Dukes of York and Kent from Government up to the year 1808.

SUNSHINE.	SHADOW.
The Duke of York received, when he came of age, the income, interest, and carefully invested savings of the Bishopric of Osnaburgh.	The Duke of Kent, when he came of age, was in Switzerland, and received for his fortune George the Third's affectionate good wishes, and upright example.
He had the revenue of the same until he was twenty-three.	His private allowance until he was twenty-three years old, being 81*l.* 18*s.* per annum.
His parliamentary allowance since, which with the income	On the 1st of February, 1791, he embarked for Gibraltar, with-

of the Bishopric of Osnaburgh, he received until he married, namely, six years.

In 1791, he married; and his allowance was increased:

The revenue from the Bishopric, to the year 1804, when he effected the transfer of the Bishopric to His Majesty, receiving for it 16,000*l.* per annum. The revenues of the see fell eventually into the grasp of Napoleon; but George the Third scrupulously fulfilled his compact with the Duke.

As Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York had a salary of 10*l. per diem*, with forage for any number of horses; he had also regimental emoluments.

When he went to Holland, he borrowed of the public 54,000*l.*; and His Majesty gave him 20,000*l.*

What he received as Warden of the New Forest, Ranger of Cranbourn Chase, Windsor

out outfit for his passage, furniture, or any sort of accommodation on his arrival; as before stated, all was to be effected at his own expense; he remained there eighteen months, and received His Majesty's allowance.

He was obliged to sell all his effects at Gibraltar, at a great loss, on being ordered to Quebec.

On his arrival there he gave bonds to his creditors. The interest of 20,000*l.*, as already stated, amounted to 1,000*l.* per annum; this interest was to be deducted from the allowance granted to his fourth son, by George the Third.

In December, 1793, he was ordered to the West Indies; this was a service which compelled him to dispose of all his effects and apparel; what was suitable for Canada was useless in the West Indies. The loss was great, and in addition, his whole field equipage was swallowed in Lake Champlain. He served the whole campaign under the late Earl Grey, and continued to receive his royal father's allowance.

He was next made a Major-General, and ordered to Nova Scotia, to take the command of

Forest, is not taken into account; nor the advantages of a house, &c. in the Stable Yard. As to losses of field equipage, &c. the Duke of York has been so truly fortunate as not to incur any.

At Dunkirk and in Holland His Royal Highness was on service.

that district of North America; he lost two outfits from England, by the capture of the *Antelope* and *Tankerville* packets; remained until 1796, and received His Majesty's allowance, and his pay as Major-General.

In 1796, he was promoted to be Lieutenant-General, and was directed to remain as such at Halifax. He desired to have an establishment, and sent an order again to England. The *Recovery* transport sailed with the necessary outfit, &c. She was captured also; and he was refused permission to return, to state his losses, &c. and CLAIM *remuneration.* A calamity COMPELLED (what both affection and justice should have granted) a visit to Britain; his horse fell with him, and he came to England for surgical assistance, in Oct. 1798, having received his royal father's allowance, and staff pay, for two years.

In April 1799, he obtained his parliamentary establishment, which he has received since.

In 1799, he was ordered to return to America, as Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces. The embargo on shipping, on account of the Helder expedition, delayed the transport from sailing with the

outfit—she was wrecked : and the *Diamond* transport, which was to convey his small remnant of effects to England, was captured ; and though retaken, *plundered.*

In 1800, he returned to England.

In 1802, he was appointed Governor of Gibraltar, which appointment he still retains.

In 1805, he received half-year donation from the droits of the Admiralty, and the remainder since.

In 1805, he received from Mr. Addington, and since through Lord Grenville, 4,000*l.*

He is a Colonel of a regiment, and Ranger of the home park.

From the above sources, the Duke of Kent's income has arisen ; and if figures be correct, *the Duke of York has received nearly* 1,400,000*l. more than the Duke of Kent.**

The Duke of Kent has had many necessary expenses and losses which were unavoidable ; besides the debts which he could not but contract at Hanover, Luneburgh, and Switzerland. The precise amount of

* This contrast, it is proper to remark, was drawn up and published, in 1809, by a decided adherent of the Duke of Kent ; *the statement bears marks of partisanship ; but there is truth* in most of its averments.

his losses cannot be stated; but the following are the occasion of them:—

His outfit to Gibraltar, establishment and furniture there, which have never been reimbursed to him, though *George the Third promised they should.*

Diminution of income, of 1,000*l.* per annum, contrary to all human expectation, for one year and a half.

His outfit to Quebec.

THE LOSS of his field equipage on Lake Champlain.

His loss by the capture of the *Antelope* packet.

Same by the capture of the *Tankerville* packet.

Same by the capture of the *Recovery* transport.

Same by the wreck of the transport which conveyed a shipment to the amount of 13,000*l.*

Same by plunder of the *Diamond* transport.

CHAPTER XII.

CAROLINE, PRINCESS OF WALES.

1806.

In the year 1806, the Duke's name was mixed up with a transaction which riveted public interest, and can hardly be passed over in any minute account of his life. Its results were anything but agreeable. In dealing with the details submitted to him, he showed sound judgment and good taste; but formed, alas! no exception to the fate which visits indiscriminately all umpires who have the misfortune to be appealed to in matrimonial quarrels. The Prince blamed him for "undue reserve," and for "confining to his own bosom reports and charges" which should have been instantly made known at Carlton House. The Princess thought hardly of him, because, after hearing the statements of Sir John Douglas, Lady Douglas, and Sir Sydney Smith, the Duke came, most unwillingly, to the conclusion that Her Royal Highness was culpable. This opinion, it will be seen, was shared by no less a personage than the exemplary Sir Samuel Romilly.

But how high must his reputation have stood for disinterestedness, judgment, and good faith, to whom,

when any difficulty arose in the royal family, instant recourse was had for counsel how to meet it! In the hour of emergency we see his opinion eagerly sought, and firmly abided by.

Is an effort to be made for the younger sons of the King; and is their case to be represented to Mr. Pitt? The Duke is fixed upon to draw up the memorial, conduct the negotiation, and confer personally with the Premier. Are certain representations to be made to the Board of Green Cloth? The Duke is entreated to undertake the management of the affair; and assent to, or dissent from the conditions. Is the Princess of Wales harassed by an unruly and ill-conducted domestic? The Duke's counsel is sought forthwith, and his opinion deemed final with respect to the offending menial.

Always appealed to, consulted with, and confided in; but left, nevertheless, to struggle with difficulties, and still succumb to unmerited oppression.

Early in November, 1806, His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, influenced by the gross misrepresentations of Lady Douglas, acquainted the Prince of Wales, that Sir John Douglas had communicated to him some circumstances relative to the conduct of his illustrious Consort, which were of the utmost consequence to the honour of His Royal Highness, and to the security of the royal succession; and that Sir John and his lady were ready, if called upon, to make a full disclosure. He added, that the Duke of Kent had been partly made acquainted with the affair *a year*

before. In consequence of this communication, the Prince requested the Duke of Kent to inform him of the nature of those circumstances, and why he had, *for a whole year*, kept from his knowledge a matter so interesting to the honour of the royal family. The Duke of Kent, in a written declaration, stated that, about the end of the year 1804, he had received a note from the Princess of Wales, stating she had got into an unpleasant altercation with Sir John and Lady Douglas, about an anonymous letter and a filthy drawing, which they imputed to her, and about which they were making a noise. She requested the Duke of Kent to interfere and prevent its going further.

His Royal Highness applied to Sir Sidney Smith, and, through him, had an interview with Sir John Douglas, who was greatly enraged, and who seemed convinced that both the anonymous letters and the unseemly drawing were done by the hand of the Princess; and that the design was to provoke Sir John Douglas to a duel with his friend, Sir Sidney Smith, if any meaning were to be attached to the gross insinuations flung out respecting the latter and Lady Douglas. The Duke of Kent, however, succeeded in prevailing on Sir John Douglas to abstain from his purpose of commencing a prosecution, or of stirring further in the business, as he was satisfied in his mind of the falsehood of the insinuations, and could not be sure that the fabrications were not some gossiping story in which the Princess had no hand. Sir John, however, spoke with great indignation of the conduct of

the Princess; and promised only that he would abstain from further investigation, but would not give a promise of preserving silence, should he be further annoyed. The Duke of Kent concluded with stating, that nothing was communicated to him beyond this fracas; and that, having succeeded in stopping it, he did not think fit to trouble His Royal Highness with a gossiping story, that might be entirely founded on the misapprehension of the offended parties.*

The Princess, in her celebrated letter to the King, thus alludes to the view taken by the Duke of Kent of her conduct in this particular instance.

" His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, as appears by his narrative, was convinced, by Sir Sidney Smith, that *these letters came from me.* His Royal Highness had been applied to by me, in consequence of my having received a formal note from Sir John, Lady Douglas, and Sir Sidney Smith, requesting an audience immediately; this was soon after my having desired to see no more of Lady Douglas. I conceived, therefore, the audience was required for the purpose of remonstrance, and explanation upon this circumstance, and as I was determined not to alter my resolution, nor admit of any discussion upon it, I requested His Royal Highness, who happened to be acquainted with Sir Sidney Smith, to try to prevent my having any further trouble upon the subject. His Royal Highness saw Sir Sidney Smith, and being *impressed by him with the belief of* Lady Douglas's story, that *I was*

* Memoirs of Her Majesty Queen Caroline.

the author of these anonymous letters, he did that which naturally became him, *under such belief;* he endeavoured, for the peace of your Majesty, and the honour of the royal family, to keep from the knowledge of the world, what, if it had been true, would have justly reflected such infinite disgrace upon me; and it seems from the narrative that he procured, through Sir Sidney Smith, Sir John Douglas's assurance that he would, under existing circumstances, remain quiet, if left unmolested. 'This result,' His Royal Highness says, 'he communicated to me the following day, and I seemed satisfied with it;' and undoubtedly, as he only communicated the result to me, I could not be otherwise than satisfied; for as all I wanted was, not to be obliged to see Sir John and Lady Douglas, and not to be troubled by them any more, the result of His Royal Highness's interference, through Sir Sidney Smith, was to procure me all that I wanted."

But the Duke was THE MEMBER *of the royal family* to whom, in the hour of adversity, this ill-fated woman clung as a protector and a friend. She thus alludes to his kind offices at a most trying crisis of her life:—

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, on the 7th of June, 1806, announced to me the impending inquiry. He apprised me of the near approach of two attorneys, claiming to enter my dwelling with a warrant to take away one-half of my household, for immediate examination upon a charge against myself.

Of the nature of that charge I was then uninformed. It now appears it was the charge of high treason, committed in the infamous crime of adultery. His Royal Highness will, I am sure, do me the justice to represent to your Majesty, that I betrayed no fear—that I manifested no symptoms of conscious guilt—that I sought no excuses to prepare or to tutor my servants for the examination which they were to undergo. The only request which I made to His Royal Highness was, that he would have the goodness to remain with me till the servants were gone, that is, might bear witness that I had no conversation with them before they went."

Sir Samuel Romilly, in his diary, makes direct allusion to this investigation, in which his official position compelled him to take part:—

"*June* 7th, 1806.—I attended at Lord Grenville's from between one and two o'clock in the day till half-past eleven at night. The whole of our time, with a short interval for dinner, was spent in examining witnesses. The four Lords of Council had granted an order to bring before them six of the Princess's most confidential servants,* from her house at Blackheath, to be examined. The order was executed without any previous intimation being given to the Princess, or to any of her servants. The Duke of Kent attended, and stated to the Princess that reports very injurious to her reputation had been in circulation: and that His

* Charlotte Sander, Sicard, Stikeman, Roberts, Frances Lloyd, and Mary Wilson.

Majesty had therefore ordered an inquiry to be instituted on the subject. The Princess said that they were welcome to examine all her servants, if they thought proper. . . . . The result of the examination was such as left a perfect conviction on my mind, and I believe on the mind of the four Lords, that the boy in question is the son of Sophia Austin. . . . . The evidence of all the servants, as to the general conduct of the Princess, was very favourable to Her Royal Highness; and Lady Douglas's account was contradicted in many very important particulars."*

"*July* 1st, 1806.—Again at Lord Grenville's on the same business, relative to the Princess of Wales. The Prince had put into my hands several original letters of the Princess to himself, and to the Princess Charlotte. I took them with me; and, upon a comparison of the hand, no one of the four Lords *had any doubt that the anonymous letter, the inscriptions upon the obscene drawings, and the directions upon the envelopes in which the drawings were enclosed, were all of the Princess's own handwriting.*"†

Again is the interference of the kind-hearted Duke claimed by the unhappy Princess, and readily and cheerfully given.

In her own narrative of her wrongs we read:—

"Before Mr. Cole lived with the Prince he had lived with the Duke of Devonshire, and I had reason

* Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, vol. ii. p. 150.
† Ibid. p. 157.

to believe that he carried to Devonshire House all the observations he could make at mine. For these various reasons, just before the Duke of Kent was about to go out of the kingdom, I requested His Royal Highness, who had been good enough to take the trouble of arranging many particulars in my establishment, to make the arrangements with respect to Mr. Cole. These arrangements, it seems, offended him."*

But though the desolate condition of this deserted wife told upon the Duke's compassionate feelings, and induced him to pay to her demands upon his kind offices and counsel the most prompt and cheerful attention, he was not blind to her defects.

A long, minute, and very curious letter is in existence, in which he alludes to the "Randolph Letters,"†

* Cole.

† A remark or two relative to this "Randolph Correspondence," may not be altogether inappropriate. The Princess of Wales, not long after her arrival in this country, entrusted a packet of letters to the Rev. Dr. Randolph, who was about visiting Germany. They were addressed to various relatives of Her Royal Highness, residing at different foreign courts; and the Doctor was charged to see to their delivery. He was formally apprised that they were letters of considerable importance. The Doctor, from some private hindrance, abandoned his intention of going abroad, and returned the packet of letters. But with the most culpable and inconceivable carelessness, Doctor R. never demanded an audience of the Princess to return to her in person her private letters; never sought an interview with any one of her ladies in waiting for that purpose; never gave himself any personal concern fully and carefully to discharge himself of the trust reposed in him. All he did was to book at the Golden Cross, for Brighton, *by coach*,

and the feelings of life-long alienation towards the Princess which they caused in certain members of her husband's family.

He says of them,—

"These letters (most unhappily for the writer) fell into hands for which, most certainly, they were never intended. I have not seen them myself; I never would see them, nor allow them to come into my possession, (though they have been more than once offered for my inspection,) for various reasons, among them a conviction that their *being in existence at all*, and certainly in the hands of the parties who held them, was a breach of that honourable confidence which ought to actuate all persons in matters where private correspondence is concerned. But the contents of these letters became known (more or less) to every member of the royal family; they were very injudiciously written, and contained reflections upon nearly every relative of the Prince of Wales then at

as a parcel, the packet containing the Princess's correspondence; nor did he even acquaint the Princess by letter that he had so done! Nor did he take any pains to ascertain that this important parcel had reached its destination. After an interval of some length, the Princess wrote to Dr. Randolph to demand the restitution of her letters. A futile request. All trace of them was lost. Nothing was known about them beyond their being booked at Charing Cross. The incautious writer never saw one of them again! But *they were extant*, and used against her. By agency never explained, they had passed into the hands of an unscrupulous foe, were read, divulged, and distorted. The main promoter of this deed of treachery, was a woman! It is a painful narrative; and its details are a reproach to our common nature.

the British Court. Some disrespectful allusions were made to the Queen; but what gave Her Majesty great offence, and what she found the utmost difficulty in forgiving, (if she ever forgave it at all,) were some very unjust and highly inexcusable observations which the Princess of Wales permitted herself to make with reference to her husband's sisters, the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth. They were unjustifiable letters, which it was hardly possible to reconcile with the rank of the writer, and accounted for much of the aversion with which, in after life, the family of her husband regarded her."

* * * *

Alas! "how great a fire a little spark kindleth;" and how easy is it to find advantages and opportunities where "*there is a purpose to accuse.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DUKE MAKES OVER HALF HIS INCOME TO TRUSTEES—TOUCHING LETTER TO THE KING—AN INEFFECTUAL APPEAL—COMMUNICATION FROM THE DUKE OF YORK.

1807—1808.

MEANWHILE time sped away without bringing the Duke any redress for losses which he had experienced, to the amount—as certified by General Wetherall, the comptroller of his household, and borne out by incontestible documents—of no less a sum than 108,200*l.*

Every branch of the Government was appealed to for redress, but in vain. Inquiry, reference, arbitration, *even a patient hearing* was refused.

So circumstanced, the Duke took a noble and characteristic determination. He resolved to see whether it were not possible to extinguish his debts by the most resolute and unflinching self-denial. To no amount of personal sacrifice was he for that end unwilling to succumb. Acting upon this manly impulse, he conveyed, in 1807, one-half of his income to trustees for the express purpose of liquidating his debts; at the same time reducing his establishment

and limiting his arrangements, with the hope of effecting his purpose within a certain definite period.

The year 1808 brought with it augmented and augmenting hostilities abroad, together with the probability of an immediate attack on Gibraltar. This threatening aspect of affairs drew from the Duke the following stirring letter to the King:—

"SIR,—Letters received by the mail just arrived from the Mediterranean, having brought the certain information that orders had reached Algesiras from Madrid, immediately to make such preparations in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, as put beyond a doubt the intention of the enemy to besiege it—

"I could not, under such circumstances, reconcile it to my feelings, were I to delay a moment in not only assuring your Majesty of my readiness instantly to go out there, but in earnestly soliciting your sanction for my resuming the duties attached to the commission I have the honour of holding as Governor of that fortress. To your Majesty, who yourself possess so nice a sense of honour, it is quite unnecessary for me to represent, that on the result of your decision upon this request, which I beg leave in the most dutiful, yet in the strongest manner to press upon your attention, everything most dear to me in life, I mean my character as a man, my professional credit as a soldier, is at stake.

"I will place these in your Majesty's hands, with no less confidence in your justice as my sovereign,

than in your indulgence as my parent. With every sentiment of the most devoted attachment, and the most dutiful respect, I have the honour to subscribe myself,

"Your Majesty's most affectionate Son,

"And most faithful Servant and Subject,

"EDWARD."

This affecting letter received an official answer, as will speedily be seen, from the Duke of York. The King for several days took no notice of it. At last there came a reply from His Majesty—brief, cautiously worded, but couched in rather affectionate terms—approving the zeal and motives of the Duke, but holding out to him no hope that he would, either then, or at any *future* time, be permitted to return to his government!

In the Duke's appeal originated the ensuing spirited correspondence:—

(No. 1.)

"Kensington Palace, April 23, 1808.

"MY LORD,—Being unwilling to occasion any trouble to the members of His Majesty's Government during the time their close attendance to their duty in parliament left them little leisure to devote otherwise than to the important concerns of the country in their respective departments, I have delayed until the moment of the recess to address your Lordship upon a subject of the most material consequence to myself,

inasmuch as it seriously affects my character both as an officer and as a man.

"The circumstance I allude to will be found by your Lordship on referring to the annexed enclosure, marked A, the same being a copy of a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to me, of the 6th of February last, in the second paragraph of which he is pleased to make use of the following expressions: 'It is at all times a matter of great regret to me to recall to your recollection the unfortunate events which led to your return from that fortress (Gibraltar), which have *already*, and *must ever* preclude the confidential servants of the King from advising His Majesty to permit you to resume your situation there.'

"Before I proceed farther, I conceive it necessary to declare to your Lordship, that until I received the above communication, which, coming from the quarter it does, I cannot but consider as official, I never entertained the most distant idea of His Majesty's confidential servants having come to a decision respecting me of the nature therein signified, or I should, the moment I had been apprised thereof, have felt it a duty I owed myself to request a communication of the grounds upon which such a resolution was adopted, and which carries with it a sentence of condemnation upon my conduct when in command of the fortress of Gibraltar, which I am conscious I do not merit. The object, therefore, of my present address to your Lordship is to demand, *as a matter of justice*, which I consider myself as having a right to claim of you, as

Secretary of State for that department to which the concerns of Gibraltar more particularly belong, that I may be made acquainted with these statements, which having been laid before His Majesty's Government, have induced the members of it to form that determination relative to me which is expressed in the communication of the Commander-in-Chief, in order that I may have an opportunity of exculpating my character and conduct of whatever charges these may contain to my prejudice, and without which I cannot conceive that such an arbitrary resolution could have been founded. By reference to the annexed copy of an official communication, B,* that occasioned my return to England in 1803, and which was transmitted to me by the Commander-in-Chief, your Lordship will perceive that it was especially expressed by Lord Pelham, 'as His Majesty's pleasure that I should return to England immediately, upon the consideration that it might be desirable that the different departments of his Government at home should have the advantage of some personal communication with me upon the recent events at Gibraltar.' To obtain this personal communication, became the object of my most anxious wishes, from the moment of my arrival in England; and I am now in possession of documents which will prove that if my application to that effect was not complied with, it did not arise from any want of exertion on my part to obtain an interview with the different de-

* The letters marked B and C are not repeated here; they will be found *ante*, pp. 130, 131.

partments of His Majesty's Government, upon a subject naturally so interesting to my feelings, and so very important to my character. When, therefore, I was informed through the channel of the Commander-in-Chief, by the Secretary of State at the head of the department to which Gibraltar then belonged, in his letter of the 28th of June, 1803, of which the enclosed, C,* is a copy, that there was nothing in his department upon which he had occasion to trouble me with any inquiries relative to the events alluded to, although he had himself expressly signified that it was for the purpose of enabling the members of His Majesty's Government to hold communication with me upon the events that had occurred at Gibraltar, that I had been requested to come over; and when in his letter of the 15th July, 1803, of which the enclosure, D, is a copy, the Commander-in-Chief was pleased to state that he was not aware that any department of His Majesty's Civil Government could officially communicate with me upon the subject of Gibraltar, except the Secretary of State for the Home Department; I trust it will not be thought presumption in me if I drew the inference, that the members who then composed His Majesty's Government attached no blame to my conduct; or if I considered my not being called upon then to resume my command, as having no connexion with a censure upon my conduct, but wholly to be ascribed to other causes, to which, from motives of delicacy, I forbear alluding: as such I remained perfectly quiet, until the moment

* See *ante*, p. 131.

when I felt that my character required I should make an effort to return to my duty. That effort your Lordship will perceive has produced an unequivocal declaration of the sentiments of His Majesty's confidential servants towards me, which I can only suppose to have been adopted in consequence of my conduct having been grossly misstated to them. Your Lordship will therefore not be surprised at my being anxious to repel these misrepresentations, and of my claiming on the grounds the rights of an Englishman, to be made acquainted, as I before observed, with the nature and extent of the accusation against me, and also of the names of those who dare accuse me; and that the matter may be fully investigated in whatever manner His Majesty's Ministers may choose to point out; for it cannot be otherwise than gratifying to me to meet the verdict of any set of men, whose opinions on my conduct shall be formed on the solemn evidence and information given by those who witnessed my zeal for the good of His Majesty's service during the period I resided and commanded in my government. If, however, this right shall be refused me, which I trust in God it may not, I then claim that the assertion already quoted, as made by the Commander-in-Chief, may be retracted, in terms as strong and explicit as those in which it is worded.

"I remain, &c. &c.

"EDWARD.

"*The Right Honourable*
Lord Castlereagh."

ENCLOSURE IN THE FOREGOING.—A.

"Horse Guards, Feb. 6, 1808.

"DEAR EDWARD,—I take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this morning, and am fully sensible of your candour in communicating to me the copy of a letter which you have thought yourself bound to address to His Majesty, requesting leave to return, under the present circumstances, to Gibraltar.

"It is at all times a matter of great regret to me to recall to your recollection the unfortunate events which led to your return from that fortress, and which *have already*, and must EVER preclude the confidential servants of the King from advising His Majesty to permit you to resume your situation there.

"I had hoped, from the number of ineffectual applications which you have at different times made upon this unlucky subject, that you would have been prevented from renewing them; and I can only repeat how much I have lamented that no arrangement could be made to relieve you from the embarrassment which you must undoubtedly always labour under, so long as you retain the government of Gibraltar.

"I am, &c. &c.

"FREDERICK."

ENCLOSURE IN THE FIRST LETTER.—D.

"Horse Guards, July 15, 1803.

"SIR,—I was yesterday favoured with your Royal Highness's letter of the 13th instant, from which I am

to understand that, in consequence of Lord Pelham's letter, of which a copy was sent to your Royal Highness in mine of the 29th ult., you are no longer desirous of a personal meeting with his Lordship; but wish that the other departments of His Majesty's Government which may be willing to communicate with you should be pointed out to you. Upon this I can only observe, that I am not myself aware that any department of His Majesty's Civil Government can officially communicate with your Royal Highness upon the subject of Gibraltar, except the Secretary of State for the Home Department; but should your Royal Highness think otherwise, I can only repeat that I cannot have any objection to your addressing yourself personally to them.

"I am, &c. &c.

"FREDERICK,
Commander-in-Chief."

(No. 2.)

"St. James's Square, May 3, 1808.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of the 23d ult., and have to entreat your Royal Highness's forgiveness for the unavoidable delay which has taken place in replying thereto. Upon the best consideration I have been able to give the communication with which your Royal Highness has been pleased to honour me, I do not feel myself enabled to enter into any explanation on the subject therein referred to, without its being pre-

viously submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's confidential servants; and, as His Majesty's commands have not been signified to authorize such a reference, I humbly conceive the subject cannot, under such circumstances, be brought regularly under their consideration.

"I am, Sir, with the utmost respect and deference,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most humble and obedient Servant,

"CASTLEREAGH.

"*His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.*"

(No. 3.)

"Kensington Palace, May 4, 1808.

"MY LORD,—Having at length, last evening, been favoured with your Lordship's acknowledgment of my letter of the 23d ult., and being unwilling to consider it in the light of a subterfuge or evasion to get rid of that explanation which I feel I have a right to demand of His Majesty's confidential servants; supposing that resolution regarding me, which is asserted in the Commander-in-Chief's letter of the 6th February last, to have been adopted by them, (of which, as I have before observed, considering the official situation of the person by whom the fact is stated, I can entertain no doubt;) I have now to request that your Lordship will inform me whether I am to understand from your letter to me, that my communication to you has been laid before the King, and that His

Majesty has not been pleased to signify his commands thereupon; or whether it is that your Lordship has not as yet submitted it to His Majesty's gracious consideration; for I feel it essential for my honour and character, not to let the matter rest in its present stage; and it is necessary that I should receive an explicit answer to this question from your Lordship before I decide which is the next step it may be necessary for me to take in the business.

"I remain, &c.

"EDWARD.

"*The Right Honourable*
Lord Castlereagh."

(No. 4.)

"Downing Street, May 5, 1808.

"SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of yesterday's date, desiring to be informed whether your Royal Highness's letter of the 23d ult. has been laid before His Majesty. I have to acquaint your Royal Highness, in reply thereto, that I have not submitted that letter to His Majesty, not having understood your Royal Highness to have expressed any wish that it should be submitted; and that I shall not consider it my duty to do so, unless I receive your Royal Highness's commands to that effect. I am, Sir,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most obedient and humble Servant,

"CASTLEREAGH.

"*His Royal Highness*
the Duke of Kent."

(No. 5.)

"Kensington Palace, May 12, 1808.

"My Lord,—I have to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the 5th instant, to which I should certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to have replied earlier, had I not been desirous to weigh maturely the situation in which your Lordship's letter of the 3d has placed me (and which has not been altered by your last communication), before I came to any determination upon it. Having, therefore, now taken the necessary time to form my resolution as to the steps I ought to take thereupon, I have to observe to your Lordship, that when first I addressed you, on the 23d ultimo, I certainly did not conceive that it would be requisite to trouble His Majesty to interfere, in order that I might obtain from his confidential servants *that* which is the birthright of every Englishman, I mean the opportunity of clearing myself of that unfavourable representation of my conduct while lately in the command of the fortress of Gibraltar, which I conclude must have reached them, since they have felt themselves warranted in taking a step which conveys the severest possible censure upon my conduct. But since it is your Lordship's opinion that I cannot be made acquainted with those representations which have led to the adoption of the resolution alluded to, without His Majesty's command being signified to that effect,

I feel too much confidence in the King's justice and goodness to entertain a moment's hesitation as to the point of having my letter of the 23d ultimo laid before him, accompanied by a humble request, on my part, that he would sanction my being informed of the grounds upon which his ministers had come to the resolution alluded to by the Duke of York, in his letter of the 6th February; in order that, if this has arisen, as it is natural for me to imagine, from what I consider a misstatement of my conduct, I may have the opportunity given me of proving that it is wholly unfounded. But at the same time that this communication is made to the King, I am sure your Lordship will feel that it is but just and fair it should be fully explained to him, that his being troubled with an application of this nature has arisen solely from your Lordship's declaration, that you conceived the subject could not be brought regularly under the deliberation of His Majesty's confidential servants, until His Majesty's commands had been signified to authorize such a reference.

"EDWARD.

"*The Right Honourable*
Lord Castlereagh."

(No. 6.)

"St. James's Square, May 13, 1808.

"Lord Castlereagh has the honour to acquaint His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, that in obedience to His Royal Highness's commands, his letter of the

23rd ultimo, together with the subsequent correspondence, has been laid before His Majesty."

(*Received by the Duke of Kent on the evening of the* 14*th.*)

(No. 7.)

"Kensington Palace, May 15, 1808.

"The Duke of Kent has to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Castlereagh's note, dated the 13th instant, (but which only reached him on the evening of the 14th,) and to thank him for the information it contains of his letter of the 23d ultimo to his Lordship, together with the subsequent correspondence which has passed between them, having been laid before the King; at the same time the Duke has to express his expectation that Lord Castlereagh will favour him with the earliest communication of whatever commands His Majesty may be graciously pleased to signify thereupon."

"*The Right Honourable*
Lord Castlereagh."

(No. 8.)

"St. James's Square, May 16, 1808.

"Sir,—Having laid before the King, in compliance with your Royal Highness's desire, your letter of the 23d ultimo, together with the subsequent correspondence, I am to acquaint your Royal Highness that His Majesty, referring to the answer which he was pleased to return to your Royal Highness on the 9th February

last, does not think it necessary to authorize his Ministers to take into their consideration your Royal Highness's present application.

"I am, Sir, with the utmost deference
"and respect,
"Your Royal Highness's
"Most humble and obedient Servant,

"CASTLEREAGH.

"*For His Royal Highness*
the Duke of Kent."

(No. 9.)

"Kensington Palace, May 17, 1808.

"MY LORD,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of yesterday, communicating His Majesty's commands respecting the application I made to your Lordship on the 23d ultimo, to which I am fully sensible it is my duty in all humility to submit; at the same time, I cannot help expressing to your Lordship my conviction, that had the King been made *fully* acquainted with the nature and extent of it, and that it had *no reference whatever* to His Majesty's decision of the 9th February, upon the request I made to him in my letter of the 6th of the same month, (of which I never presumed to solicit a reconsideration on his part,) but that it was confined wholly to the resolution adopted by his *confidential servants*, relative to myself, (in which the King could not have the slightest participation,) which I consider

founded on injustice, as it must have been entered into upon a representation of facts to my prejudice, while I had not the opportunity afforded me of explaining my conduct as connected with the event that has occasioned that determination; he could not, with his well-known upright mind, have withheld from me that justice which is extended to the meanest of his subjects, *the right to defend my character against misrepresentation.*

"Under this impression, which nothing can remove from my mind, I have no alternative left, but to avail myself of the first opportunity that offers, to do justice to my feelings, and to endeavour to remove from my character that unjust stigma which I conceive attached to it from that resolution of His Majesty's Ministers which was communicated to me by the Commander-in-Chief in his letter of the 6th February last, and which has given rise to the present correspondence.

"I remain, &c. &c.

"EDWARD.

"*The Right Honourable*
Lord Castlereagh."

With this elaborate and unsuccessful appeal may be said to have terminated the Duke's public life. He appears to have made no further effort to obtain active employment, or to be reinstated in his foreign command. The next twelve years of his life were years passed in privacy, yet were they the most glorious years of his chequered life!

If we believe that our present probationary state derives all its importance from being linked with the mighty and enduring future,—if we hold that those deeds alone merit permanent record which harmonize with the spirit and teaching of our Great Master, and tend to diminish the mass of sorrow and suffering which exists in the world,—if the conviction be ours that in this life each man has a mission, viz. to lighten the burden of his fellow-pilgrim,* then the closing years of the Duke's life, years of seclusion and self-denial, were the most illustrious of his life. He lived for others,† not himself. His sole object, aim, struggle, was to aid the deserving, the necessitous, the oppressed.

It was the triumph of CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE over wounded feeling.

A man of ordinary views, or of transitory and vacillating impressions, would have sunk into confirmed misanthropy and perpetual gloom. Stung with the hollow treachery, and disgusted with the measureless ingratitude‡ of his fellows, he would have withdrawn himself from his species, and worn away life in sullen and moody contemplation of his

* Galatians vi. 2.

† At his death, there were no less than *Fifty-three* public charities which had been for years promoted by his immediate patronage, or assisted by his able counsel and generous contributions.

‡ Mr. R——, the Solicitor of His Royal Highness, a man who owed *every thing to his bounty*, suddenly disappeared some years prior to the Duke's decease, carrying off with him a very considerable sum, the property of his generous and confiding employer.

own sorrows. The aspect of his brethren would have been hateful to him. He would either have turned coldly away from the tale of misery, or would have hailed with complacency the sufferings of others, because he saw in them an approach to, or semblance of, his own. Not so the Duke. He forgot his own calamities in ministering to those of others. He resisted the strongest temptations to pride, preserved his ears open to truth, and was impatient of the voice of flattery.

Pledges held out to himself had, it is true, been shamelessly and ruthlessly broken. He turned from them to the calm contemplation of that Volume wherein is held a world of promises from *a Voice that never lies.*

Granted, that in the rest of his career we miss the daring soldier, the vigilant commander, the lynx-eyed disciplinarian.

But we still find him in the lists.

He is thenceforth waging a ceaseless war against ignorance, infidelity, and immorality—"the great holy war—the only war attended with no shrieks from the wounded, no wail from the widow and orphan—but a war whose triumphs are bloodless; whose trophies are subdued and penitent hearts; whose penalties may be summed up in the light affliction, which endureth for a moment; and whose rewards are immeasurable and eternal."

Ah! how true it is, that "he cannot sink who trusts the power of his Master; he cannot but sink who doubts it!"

CHAPTER XIV.

CONSULTATION WITH SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY — MAJOR DODD — SIR SAMUEL'S DECISION — COLONEL WARDLE'S RESOLUTIONS AGAINST THE DUKE OF YORK — THE DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS — THE DUKE OF KENT'S LINE OF CONDUCT ON THE OCCASION — THE INTRIGUES FALSELY IMPUTED TO HIM — HIS SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

1808—1809.

JOHN BULL, with all his faults—and the worthy gentleman has various short-comings—is a doughty lover of justice. He kicks against oppression in every form. He clamours for a fair stand-up fight. A phrase familiar to him, and which he repeats with gusto, is "Even-handed justice." And whether the injured party be a post-office clerk or a prince of the blood, John, if he thinks him wronged, will do his best to "right" him. John, therefore, growled and grumbled hugely when the rejection of the Duke's appeal to the King became public; and the further astounding information was added—that the immovable opponent to the Duke's return to his government was no less a personage than his own brother, the Commander-in-Chief. "Paper pellets" of some pungency were pelted to and fro; and some of these hit the Duke of York palpably and somewhat sharply.

To the Duke of Kent's feelings this mode of defence was anything but grateful, and he consulted Sir Samuel Romilly as to the course which it befitted him to take.

Sir Samuel's Diary records the Duke's views and the advice given.

"*Dec. 28th*, 1808.—I this day,* by the desire of the Duke of Kent, waited on him at Carlton House. He said that he wished to consult me, not professionally, but rather as a friend, on a point on which some difference of opinion existed among those persons whose judgments he most highly valued. A publication had very recently appeared, by a person of the name of McCallum, professing to state the persecutions which he, the Duke, had experienced at the hands of the Duke of York. It had been thought advisable that he should publish a disavowal of any privity in the publication; and he put into my hands a paper which had been drawn up for the purpose. All his friends, except his secretary, Major Dodd, advised him to publish it; and he was desirous, in consequence of the Prince of Wales's recommendation, to take my opinion upon it. The paper which he gave me, and which he desired me to take home with me, and to consider at my leisure, was in these words:—

"The Duke of Kent requests the Editor of the Morning Post to give insertion to the following paragraph:—

* Sir Samuel Romilly's Diary, vol. ii. p. 261.

"Kensington Palace, Dec. 24, 1808.

"Several pamphlets having recently appeared, in which my name has been mentioned with high encomiums, while those of several members of my family, and of various other individuals, have been noticed in terms of abuse; and having reason to apprehend, (from the circumstance of several extracts and dates of two correspondences which took place between the members of His Majesty's Government and myself in 1803 and the present year being quoted in different parts of them,) that a belief is entertained by persons who are unacquainted with my real sentiments, that I have sanctioned the publication of them; I feel it incumbent upon me, for the justification of my character to the world, (although it is extremely repugnant to my feelings to be obliged thus to obtrude myself on the attention of the public,) to adopt this mode of solemnly and unequivocally declaring that there is not the slightest foundation for so ungenerous a suspicion. At the same time I conceive it right to avow, that *I certainly did give free circulation to the whole of the correspondence alluded to*, and to the substance of the other, accompanied by an extract of some of the most striking passages in it, and a memorandum of the dates, amongst my military friends, at the periods when they respectively closed; that being the only method left me of proving to them and to every officer of the British army, (who having served under me in North America, the West Indies, and the Mediterranean, had

witnessed the manner in which I have ever striven to discharge my duty;) first, that I had spared no pains to obtain an investigation of my conduct at Gibraltar, when, after commanding in that fortress for a twelvemonth, I was recalled from my government, for the avowed purpose of rendering an account of the causes that had led to the mutiny; and, secondly, that if I was not at my post, (as I felt I ought to be,) it was not for want of my making every possible exertion to return to it. But it never even once entered my thoughts that any part of the correspondence might one day or other appear in print: and still less that it would furnish materials either for the public commendation of myself or for the abuse of others.

"On the contrary, my opinion always has been, that pamphlets of the nature of those alluded to could do no good, while they certainly have a tendency to produce much mischief; and, such being my sentiments, I should be the last man living to give a sanction to the publication of them."

Sir Samuel Romilly proceeds:—

"It required but little consideration to determine against the publication of such a paper. The Duke told me, however, that *he wished me to consider it maturely;* and if I was against the publishing it, to write him a letter saying that such was my opinion, and shortly to give my reasons in my letter, and to send it to him at Kensington Palace. He desired me too to consider, whether, if *this paper* were

not proper to be published by him, it might not be right for him to publish *some other*. He said that he should be governed entirely by my opinion; and that he wished to have a letter from me to show to those of his family who were urgent with him to publish a disavowal of the Pamphlet. *The part of his family who were so urgent with him were those who were most attached to the Duke of York.* He begged that in the letter I would not mention the name of Major Dodd.* I took my leave of him, and the next morning sent him a letter in these words:—

"SIR,—Your Royal Highness having done me the honour to ask me what I thought of the propriety

* A sentence or two may not be out of place here, with reference to an officer for whom the Duke had the most sincere regard, and whose name appears, on more occasions than one, identified with the Duke's history.

Sir Hew Dalrymple was sent out by Lord Castlereagh to be Lieutenant-Governor of Gibraltar, at the express wish of the Duke of York. One, among other matters to which Sir Hew's attention was to be specially directed, was to ascertain whether misconduct could be imputed to Captain Dodd, who had been Garrison Secretary of that fortress. A strict and searching inquiry was made. Happily, the conduct of that officer was found unimpeachable. As a soldier, he was brave; as a friend, inalienable; as a servant, faithful, and incorruptible.

Lord Castlereagh's object was defeated. Captain Dodd retained his character, and an unshaken fidelity to the Duke of Kent. The latter was, and continued to be, *his only crime.*

Subsequently, Mr. Perceval discovered that the place of Garrison Secretary of Gibraltar was a *civil* one; and, consequently, at the disposal of His Majesty's Ministers. The Duke, after a hard fight, acquiesced; Captain Dodd was removed, and Mr. Perceval appointed *a* MILITARY *man*, Colonel Rutherford.

of Your Royal Highness's authorizing the publication in some of the daily newspapers of the paper which I have now the honour to return enclosed, I have given it the best consideration in my power, and I have read attentively the Pamphlet to which it principally alludes. It appears to me, Sir, after thinking very anxiously on the subject, that it would not be by any means advisable that the paper in question should be published, or, indeed, that your Royal Highness should authorize the publication of any paper that could be written for the purpose of disavowing any knowledge of the Pamphlet. Your Royal Highness by condescending to take notice of the suspicion, that it may have been with your Royal Highness's privity that the Pamphlet has been published, would give a degree of weight, and importance, and publicity to that suspicion, which I am fully persuaded it has not at this moment obtained. The tone and spirit of the Pamphlet must alone convince every rational man that it has never received any sanction from your Royal Highness; and no inference to the disadvantage of your Royal Highness can be drawn from the mere circumstance of the writer having had access to the correspondences which took place in 1803, and in the present year; since it is known that your Royal Highness did not make those correspondences matter of secrecy; and, consequently, it must have been impossible to prevent some copy of them getting into improper hands. If any paragraph upon the subject were to appear under

your Royal Highness's name, it would necessarily have the effect of giving a very extended circulation, and a considerable degree of weight, to an imputation, which, as far as the public is concerned, I really believe, cannot truly be said at present to exist. It seems to me, Sir, that it must be some very extraordinary occasion indeed, that could render it expedient, even for a private individual, and much more for a person of your Royal Highness's exalted rank, to make such an appeal to the public as the paper would amount to, and by that means to expose himself to all the animadversions, inquiries, attacks, and provocations to further explanations, which such appeals seldom fail to produce, and which they may be said, in some degree, always to challenge; and I am most fully convinced that this is not such an occasion.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

"S. ROMILLY."

Dec. 29, 1808.—"I have heard nothing since from the Duke; but I believe he has abstained from publishing anything."

The transaction to which the next few pages will be devoted, the writer would joyfully pass over, did it not form one of a series of events in which the Duke was compelled to take part. It would be rank injustice to him to suppress all mention of an inquiry which exhibits his magnanimity of character in a most engaging light. The main features of the affair are, therefore, briefly given, not willingly but of necessity,

and mainly because they indicate the force of that hidden principle by which, in adversity as in prosperity, the Duke of Kent shaped the course of his public life.

On the 27th of January, 1809, Colonel Wardle, an officer in the militia, brought forward in the Lower House a series of charges against the Commander-in-Chief:—he alleged that Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, a discarded favourite of the Duke, had for years carried on a traffic in Military Commissions, not only with the knowledge, but participation of His Royal Highness. He concluded with moving for a Committee of Inquiry, which, on the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was determined should be of the whole House. The inquiry forthwith commenced, and lasted about two months: during its progress numerous witnesses were examined, amongst them Mrs. Clarke herself, and the most extraordinary disclosures ensued. It was proved that this unscrupulous woman had exercised material influence not only in military, but also in ecclesiastical promotion.

On one occasion she had placed her own footman as a commissioned officer in the army. On another she had procured the honour of preaching before the King for a Mr. O'Meara, an Irish clergyman. There was hardly a department of the State which her influence had not reached, and the list of aspirants inserted for a consideration in her book of "parties to be remembered," included persons of almost every station in society.

So far Colonel Wardle established his case; beyond this he failed. He failed in showing that the Duke had derived any pecuniary benefit whatever from the traffickings of his mistress; but there were some parties still, who found it difficult to believe His Royal Highness altogether guiltless of the minor count in the indictment, viz. that of knowingly suffering her to barter the patronage of his office for the support of herself and her establishment.

The expenses of that establishment could not have been trifling; its appointments certainly were not merely princely, but regal, an epithet which can scarcely be liable to the charge of exaggeration, since Mr. Whitbread stated in the House that a service of plate, which Mrs. Clarke purchased of a pawnbroker, *originally belonged to a prince of the Bourbon family!* Public attention was entirely engrossed with the inquiry, and the House was never so well attended as during its progress. Many of the members appeared highly edified by the daring sallies of the self-composed courtesan. She herself was the principal witness in the inquiry. Though the Duke was acquitted of personal corruption by a vote of the Commons, the impression of his culpability was strong among many independent members. The public shared it to no slight extent, and the result was that he found it necessary to resign his employment. This appears to have been considered a sufficient *amende;* and the whole business was got rid of on the 20th of March by the motion of Lord Althorp,—that the House did

not think proper further to prosecute the inquiry after the resignation of His Royal Highness. This was carried by 235 to 112.

While this inquiry was pending, the Duke of Kent was accused of having secretly aided this attack upon his royal brother. On no more solid foundation did this grave charge rest than this:—that an officer who had formerly held the situation of private secretary to the Duke of Kent, had some acquaintance with the principal female performer in this astounding investigation; and hence the hasty inference was drawn, that the Duke of Kent countenanced the charges against his brother. It was only necessary to have the slightest knowledge of the kindly feelings of the Duke of Kent, in order to be convinced that the man who considered the disgrace of any one member of his family as the dishonour of all, was wholly incapable of the conduct so unjustly and so falsely imputed to him. Although such disgraceful stories only merited contempt, the Duke immediately sent for Lord Harrington, and the following statement was laid before the public:—

QUESTIONS PUT TO CAPTAIN DODD BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF KENT, AND THE ANSWERS OF THE FORMER THERETO.—JULY 26, 1809.

"*Question.* Have I, directly or indirectly, sanctioned, advised, or encouraged any attacks upon the Duke of York, to your knowledge?—*Answer.* Never. T. Dodd.

"*Question.* Have I had, to your knowledge, any acquaintance or communication with Colonel Wardle, or any of the parties concerned in bringing forward the investigation respecting the Duke of York's conduct, which took place in Parliament, last winter, either directly or indirectly?—*Answer.* I feel confident that your Royal Highness has no such knowledge or acquaintance. T. Dodd.

"*Question.* Have I, to your knowledge, ever had any acquaintance with, or knowledge of Mrs. Clarke, or any communication with her, direct or indirect, upon the subject above named, or any other?—*Answer.* I am confident your Royal Highness never had. T. Dodd.

"*Question.* Have I ever expressed to you any sentiment, which could induce you to believe that I approved of what was brought forward in Parliament against the Duke of York, or of any proceeding which would tend to his obloquy or disgrace?—*Answer.* Never! I have heard your Royal Highness lament the business *vivâ voce*, and you made the same communication to me in writing. T. Dodd.

"*Question.* Have you ever, to your recollection, expressed yourself, either by words or in writing, either to Colonel Wardle or Mrs. Clarke, or to any other person connected with the investigation of the Duke of York's conduct, in any way that could give them reason to suppose that I approved of the measure, or would countenance those concerned in bringing it forward?—*Answer.* Never; but I have, on the contrary,

expressed myself, that your Royal Highness would have a very different feeling. T. Dodd.

" *Question.* What were my expressions on the subject of the pamphlets which appeared, passing censure on the conduct of the Duke of York, and others of my family, and holding up my character to praise; and what have been the sentiments which I have uniformly expressed on similar publications, whether in the newspapers or elsewhere?—*Answer.* I have invariably heard your Royal Highness regret that any person should attempt to do justice to your own character, at the expense of that of the Duke of York, or of any other member of your family. T. Dodd.

" *Question.* During the ten years you have been my private secretary, when in the most confidential moments I have given vent to my wounded feelings on professional subjects, did you ever hear me express myself inimical to the Duke of York, or that I entertained an expectation of raising myself by his fall?—*Answer.* Never! on the contrary, I have frequently heard your Royal Highness express yourself very differently. T. Dodd.

" The above questions, written in Colonel Vesey's hand, were all dictated by me, EDWARD, in the presence of Lord Harrington."

Divested of falsehood, the case was this: During the very winter in which the Duke of Kent was represented as being busily engaged in framing machinations against his brother, he was confined to the

house, and for the most part to his bed, by an attack of fever and inflammation, not dissimilar to that which ultimately brought him to his grave; and the first day the invalid was able to quit his chamber, he went down to the House of Lords, and in his place, on the 7th of February, 1809, assured their Lordships that no animosity subsisted between himself and the Duke of York, and that all reports of a contrary nature were unfounded and untrue. So far, he added, was he from thinking that there was anything improper in the conduct of his royal brother, that he was fully persuaded that all the charges made against him were false, and would be proved to be without foundation. He took upon himself, also, to assure the House that the whole of that illustrious person's family were of the same opinion.

In order fully to appreciate the magnanimity of this declaration, we must recall the circumstances under which it was uttered. The Duke was then suffering under a wrong, the injustice of which chafed his gallant spirit to his dying hour, and the remembrance of which he carried with him to the grave. He had been, by a most unworthy subterfuge, "decoyed from his government;" and while the King gave a tardy and reluctant assent to the measure, and the Prince of Wales opposed it as unjust, the Duke of York demanded that he should be superseded, and carried it. Nor was this the full measure of his wrongs. All inquiry into his alleged misconduct was denied. In vain did he demand court martial or a court of

inquiry. The Commander-in-Chief declared both to be inexpedient and unnecessary. Nor would he clear his injured brother from unmerited obloquy, by any official declaration of his innocence; permit him to return to Gibraltar; or, in lieu of such permission, appoint him to some other military command. There was a determined and persevering denial of inquiry and all redress. Now, when the Duke of York was assailed in his turn,—when a formidable and unscrupulous faction accused him of malversation in his high office, many men in the Duke of Kent's circumstances, and *smarting under the Duke of Kent's wrongs*, would have viewed the onset with complacency. They would have said, "My persecutor's position is reversed; he is now defendant instead of assailant. Let him judge for himself, whether the torture is light, of undeserved imputations and unmerited obloquy. Let him baffle his calumniators as best he may; my part shall be that of a spectator."

Not so the Duke of Kent. Never did he appear more truly illustrious—never did he occupy higher ground, in the opinion of the wise and good, than when in his place in the House of Lords he stood forth as the defender of his brother, and fearlessly threw in the weight of his character and influence to champion the Commander-in-Chief's innocence. It was a memorable and opportune declaration. It proved that not one particle of pettiness or meanness lurked in that noble nature. It showed that he had learnt and could practise that most difficult of all lessons,—

"*Overcome evil with good.*" It showed that *his creed was* CHRISTIAN, both in deed and in word; that revenge, the infirmity of noble minds, was not his; but that, under the teaching of the mightiest of all Masters, he had learnt cordially, fully, and from the heart—TO FORGIVE!

CHAPTER XV.

SELLIS—HIS ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND—THE SUBJECT SELECTED AS THE BASIS OF A LECTURE TO A CLASS OF SURGICAL PUPILS—MR. C——, THE WELL-KNOWN SURGEON—THE DUKE OF KENT'S DISPLEASURE—HIS MODE OF SHOWING IT—HIS STRONG COMPARISON.

1810.

THE same feelings animated him when the shaft of calumny was levelled at any member of his illustrious house. He regarded an insult offered to each or either as an insult offered to himself. "We can have," was his remark,* "no separate interests, and no individual eminence; traduce one, and you injure all; no member of the reigning family can *suffer* ALONE *in public estimation.*"

These feelings were called forth into active exercise by a murderous attempt on the life of one of his younger brothers, and by some extraordinary proceedings consequent on its failure.

On the 31st of May, 1810, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, having dined the day before at Greenwich, returned to town in the evening, and went

* Addressed to the Rev. Henry White, his Chaplain, and much and deservedly in his confidence.

to the concert for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians. He returned home about half-past twelve, and went to bed about one. Soon after two o'clock, when His Royal Highness was in a sound sleep, an assassin entered his chamber with a dark lanthorn, and put out the lamp. One of the Duke's sabres was kept constantly in a drawer in the chamber; and it was with this weapon, which the assassin either then took out of the drawer, or had previously secured, that the attempt was made. His Royal Highness was awakened by a heavy blow on his head with the sabre, which severed the padding he wore around his head, and inflicted a deep cut. The Duke sprang from the bed while the villain was in the act of repeating the blow, and which he received on his arm, having lifted it for the purpose of protecting his head. Before His Royal Highness could reach the door of his chamber, other blows were made, which inflicted several wounds, and by one of which one of the Duke's fingers was nearly severed from his hand. The Duke having at length been enabled to open the door of his chamber, called out, "Neyle (the name of his English valet), I am murdered, I am murdered!" The valet, much alarmed, was proceeding hastily into the bed-room, when the Duke said, "Don't go in; the murderers are in my bed-room, and they will murder you as they have murdered me." At this moment, Neyle trod on the sabre, which the assassin had thrown down. The Duke desired Neyle not to leave him, as he feared there were others in the room. His Royal Highness, how-

ever, shortly afterwards proceeded to the porter's room, and Neyle went to awaken Sellis, (a Corsican,) and another of the Duke's valets. There was at this time a general alarm in the house. The door of Sellis's room was locked, and Neyle called out to him, saying, "The Duke is murdered." No answer being given, the door was broke open, and Sellis was found dead in his bed, with his throat cut from ear to ear. It is supposed, that Sellis, conscious of his own guilt, imagined, when the alarm was given at his door, that they were about to take him into custody, and immediately cut his throat. His blue coat was found folded up on a chair in one corner of the room, the inside of which was stained with blood; and as he had cut his throat in another part of the room, the blood must have been that of his master. A pair of his slippers were also found in the closet adjoining the Duke's chamber, where he had concealed himself until His Royal Highness was asleep. Mr. Home was immediately sent for to the Duke; who, after a very careful inspection of the wounds, pronounced that none of them were mortal.

The motives which influenced Sellis to make this atrocious attempt to assassinate his master, it is impossible to develop, from his having put a period to his own existence. A report was freely circulated that jealousy was the instigation; and the circumstance of the Duke having been one of the sponsors for Sellis's last child, was adduced in corroboration of this supposition. It is, however, by no means uncom-

mon for persons of high rank to become sponsors for the children of domestics who have been long in their service; and this circumstance, in itself, is trivial; nor are there apparently solid grounds for believing that jealousy prompted the crime. That Sellis was insane, there is much greater reason for believing; he having been observed by the other domestics, for about a month previously, to have been absent, *distrait*, and peculiarly despondent, which induced them to say, frequently, that he was out of his mind. There appears, however, to have been great deliberation of purpose evinced in his scheme of concealing himself in the closet, and watching the opportunity of the Duke being asleep. The only part of his conduct that appears like the act of a madman, is his using the sabre in so extraordinary a manner to effect his purpose. There had been some bickerings, which may serve to show that he acted under the impulse of revenge. Sellis had been in the Duke's service for sixteen or seventeen years, with intervals, during which, in consequence of some disagreements, he had quitted it. He was, however, a favourite with the Duke; and His Royal Highness took him again into his service, and is understood to have behaved very kindly towards him and his family, consisting of a wife and four children. There were two other valets, the one a German, and the other an Englishman of the name of Neyle. Some disputes are said to have taken place between Sellis and Neyle, respecting which an appeal was made to the Duke, who decided in favour of the

latter. The revengeful disposition of Italians is well known; but whether the foregoing circumstance worked up the mind of this man to an attempt to revenge himself, or whether a deranged state of mind rendered him the victim of imaginary wrongs, and that thus his insanity was aggravated till it issued in this dreadful catastrophe, is now impossible to ascertain. His Royal Highness received six distinct wounds, one upon the forehead, towards the top of the head, another down the cheek, one upon the arm, another, by which his little finger was nearly severed from the hand, one upon the front of the body, and another on the thigh, besides several punctures in different parts with the point of the sabre. Sellis had not slept in his usual apartment for three nights preceding, but in a dressing-room, where he was found, as above stated. The Duke's sabre, which he used, had been sharpened within a few days previously. Upon the alarm being given in the palace, Lieutenant Buller, with a sergeant and several men, who were on duty in the palace, entered His Royal Highness's apartments, and found the assassin stretched on his bed, with his head nearly severed from his body; the blood which had issued from him had nearly covered the bed-clothes and furniture. The circumstance soon became known to Mr. Sheridan, who was at Brooks's, and who immediately went to the palace, and soon afterwards to Carlton House, to communicate it to the Prince of Wales. The Prince hurried to the palace early in the morning to visit his royal brother,

and about eight o'clock set off for Windsor, to communicate to the royal family intelligence of the attack. The Prince of Wales, attended by Mr. Ryder and another gentleman, visited the Duke again at half-past six o'clock. The Duke of York followed soon after. So little suspicion had the Duke of Sellis, that he repeatedly called upon him by name to come to his assistance; not having the slightest idea that this was the very ruffian who was attacking him. Sellis is stated to have been missing from four o'clock in the afternoon, from which time he is supposed to have been waiting concealed in the closet adjoining the Duke's bed-room, till he thought the opportunity had occurred of effecting his purpose. The razor with which he cut his throat was one which the Duke had given him a few days before.

Coroner's Inquest.

His Royal Highness was removed to Carlton House about nine the following evening. The bulletin issued by Mr. Home on Friday, stated His Royal Highness to be as well as could be expected under the peculiar circumstances of his case. The inquest was held on the same day, before Mr. Adams, coroner of the Verge, who informed the jury of the attack made upon His Royal Highness, and that there was little doubt but that it was done by the deceased. He stated that the circumstances had been fully investigated by the Privy Council on Thursday, and

that the depositions of the numerous witnesses, taken before Mr. Read, should be read to them; after which, the witnesses would be called, for the purpose of altering, explaining, or enlarging their depositions. The first affidavit that was read was that of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, which stated, that about half-past two on Thursday morning he received two violent blows and cuts on his head. The first impression upon his mind was, that a bat had got into the room, and was fluttering about his head. He was soon convinced to the contrary, by receiving a third blow. He jumped out of bed, when he received a number of other blows. From the glimmering light, and the motion of the instrument that inflicted the wounds, reflected from a dull lamp in the fire-place, they appeared like flashes of lightning before his eyes. He made for a door near the head of his bed, leading to a small room, to which the assassin followed him, and cut him across his thighs. His Royal Highness not being able to find his alarm-bells, which there is no doubt the villain had concealed, called with a loud voice for Neyle, his valet in waiting, several times, who came to his assistance, and, together with His Royal Highness, alarmed the house. The testimony of Cornelius Neyle agreed with that of His Royal Highness, with this addition, that after the alarm was given, and the premises searched, they found in a second small adjoining room a pair of slippers with the name of Sellis in them, and a dark lantern. The key of the closet was in the inside of

the lock, and to his knowledge the key had not been in that state for ten years. He said, in answer to a question put by a juryman, that three years since, the Duke advanced their board-wages from 10*s.* 6*d.* per week to 14*s.*, but at the same time took off 3*s.* 6*d.* allowed for travelling. Sellis complained of this at the time, but not since. His wife and family resided in apartments allotted them by the Duke. The deceased had recently been troubled with a cold, in consequence of which the Duke suffered him to ride inside the carriage to Windsor. He had no doubt that Sellis intended that he (the witness) should be charged with being the murderer, to get him out of the way, owing to a quarrel between them. The jury then proceeded to the Duke's chamber, and found it sprinkled with blood in various parts, and the pictures, paintings, &c. full of sabre cuts. From the testimony of various other persons, it appeared that Sellis was so much favoured by his royal master, that he stood godfather to his last child, and prevailed upon the Princess Augusta to be godmother; since which the Queen and the whole of the royal family had noticed the family. There was no proof whatever of Sellis being insane; indeed, his concealment in the closet, subsequent retreat, and ultimate death, are strongly opposed to this belief.

The widow of the deceased was examined. Her appearance and evidence excited the greatest compassion and interest; the latter went to prove, that Sellis was a good husband, not embarrassed in his

circumstances, and that he had parted with her in his usual way, without giving any suspicion of what he had in contemplation.

The jury, after sitting four hours, to hear evidence, &c., deliberated about an hour, and then returned a verdict of *felo-de-se*. He was afterwards buried in the high-road in Scotland-yard.

As if this occurrence were not sufficiently gloomy, those were not wanting who would add to its horror.

Mr. C——, a surgeon of note, saw Sellis after his death, and having examined his wounds, gave it as his opinion, that the cuts on the back of the neck could not have been inflicted by the deceased. Nor was Mr. C—— content with simply giving utterance to this monstrous assertion: he had the hardihood to make the subject the basis of a lecture to his pupils, in the course of which he declared, that if Sellis died by his own hand he did not cut and wound the back of his neck. "Sellis," he observed, "had not one but several wounds on the back of his neck. If Sellis had meant his own decollation he must have begun behind his neck,—but labour with the razor as he might, it would only hack and hew his flesh; for no physical strength would be sufficient to terminate the existence of an individual by beheading himself."

The season—the auditory—the subject—all show singular taste on the part of the anatomist.

A more mischievous lecture, tending to a most mendacious and flagitious inference, was never delivered.

The Duke of Kent heard of this address, and was justifiably indignant at its tenor. *That* he took care should very speedily reach the ears of the Prince of Wales, in whose household the offender held, strange to say, some appointment. Soon afterwards, meeting the lecturer, whom he had been previously in the habit of greeting with great courtesy, the Duke looked him fairly down, and then *rumped* him without mercy.

One remark of his, with reference to this transaction, is worth preserving. "The invalid, it appears to me, has had two assassins to cope with; one, who was bent on the destruction of his body; the other, on the destruction of his character; of the two, the latter by far *the most dastardly*."

Ah! it were a happy thing if charity could enlarge itself *as much as malice*.

CHAPTER XVI.

HIS POLITICAL COURSE AS A PEER OF PARLIAMENT—VOTES ON THE REGENCY RESTRICTIONS—ON THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION BILL—HIS DELICACY AND DEVOTED OBEDIENCE TO THE PRESUMED WISHES OF HIS ROYAL FATHER—HIS ADHERENCE TO THE BIBLE SOCIETY, CONSIDERED AS A GRIEVANCE BY THE THEN ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

1810.

With the year 1810 came the Jubilee. The celebration of this rare feature in a monarch's reign was speedily followed by some unforeseen and disastrous occurrences.

The Princess Amelia, George the Third's youngest daughter, was greatly beloved by both her parents; but the affection subsisting between the King and herself assumed an aspect of peculiar interest and importance. Her Royal Highness, whose health had long been on the decline, began, towards the commencement of 1810, to exhibit symptoms of the most alarming tendency. A lock of her hair, enclosed in a ring, and bearing the word "*Remember,*" which was presented to His Majesty, a little before her death, is

understood to have been the precursor of a total alienation of reason.

The Duke saw with inexpressible emotion the suppressed agony of the King, and the cruel ravages which affliction was making upon his constitution, augmented by the very firmness of his character.

"My father"—was the Duke's remark to Dr. Collyer, honoured by His Royal Highness with marked and unwavering confidence—"my father never imparts his sorrows to his family. If there be anything to give him pleasure, he never fails to make us all participate in it; but he reserves the whole weight of his disappointments and of his sufferings to himself. I can see him working up his mind to the highest pitch of endurance, yet he utters no complaints. Dearly as I love my sister, and grieved as I shall be to part from her, I could almost wish the conflict were now closed. I dread a firmness on the part of the King, amidst his evident agony, which I am persuaded will not give way unless his mental powers fail; these, I confess I fear, will suddenly yield to a pressure no longer to be borne."

How true was His Royal Highness's augury, is now matter of history; the firmness of the parent sank under the last marks of affection bestowed on him by his dying child; and with that firmness fled his reason.

In the animated discussions which took place in

the House of Lords relative to the Regency, during the King's mental incapacity, the Duke of Kent cordially co-operated with his brothers. With them he opposed every parliamentary restriction upon the exercise of functions which—supported by a most numerous and respectable minority of both Houses—they conceived necessarily to devolve, in right of his birth, upon the heir apparent to the Crown, being, as he then was, of full age. We accordingly find his name, with that of the rest of the royal Dukes, in the list of the minority, who, on the 23d December, 1810, unsuccessfully opposed the second Resolution, transmitted from the Commons, asserting the right of the two Houses of Parliament to provide for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority. He afterwards signed a strong protest against this resolution, to which were also affixed the names of all the royal Dukes, except York and Cambridge, and of two-and-thirty other peers. Again: to Lord Holland's amendment, consisting of a simple request to the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the exercise of the powers and authorities of the Crown in the name and on the behalf of the King, during the continuance of His Majesty's illness—the Duke of Kent gave his support. His name stands at the head of a minority of 74 peers who voted for this amendment. In Lord Lansdowne's amendment, which gave the

administration of the royal authority to the Prince of Wales, "subject to such limitations and restrictions as shall be made and appointed," which was carried by a majority of 105 against 102 voices, we find the Duke concurring. His name swells the majority.

This was the most active and the most important period of the Duke of Kent's parliamentary life; for though he seldom spoke in the senate, we find him twice addressing the House during the eventful session of 1810—11. The first time, on the 5th of January, 1811, when he opposed the admission of proxies on a question of such vital importance as that of supplying the functions of the highest branch of the Legislature; the second, on the 28th of the same month, when, protesting against all restrictions upon the Regent, he declared his intention of voting for their continuance for six, rather than for twelve months, as the lesser of two most serious evils.

In the celebrated debate which took place on the 1st of July, 1812, on the motion of Marquess Wellesley, pledging the House of Peers early to emancipate the Roman Catholics, His Royal Highness declared himself friendly to the measure. He viewed the matter as a question of conciliation; and avowed his "persuasion that the removal of the Roman-Catholic disabilities was the first general measure by which the amelioration of Ireland could be effected."

Disinclined, on various accounts, from taking any prominent part in public affairs during the life-time of his venerated father, and whilst the reins of government were held in his name by the Heir Apparent to the Throne, we find but one instance upon record of his giving more than his silent vote in the House of Peers. This is the addition of his name to a very long protest, entered on the journals of that House, against the rejection of the claim of General Knollys to the earldom of Banbury; in which he was joined by his illustrious relatives, the Dukes of Sussex and Gloucester, Lord Erskine, and six other peers. On the 16th of May, 1817, he gave a convincing proof that his views on the Emancipation question were unaltered, by dividing with the minority of 90, against 142, on Lord Donoughmore's motion. That motion went to pledge the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider the Petition of the Irish Roman Catholics, for relief from the disabilities under which they labour. On this occasion his vote was given by proxy.

Many of the public movements of the Duke of Kent were regulated by family delicacy, of which no human being ever had a nicer sense, and to which no son or brother ever paid more undeviating homage.

So to conduct all his public measures, while any hope of the restoration of the Sovereign's mental facul-

ties remained, as that his father should not have the mortification of thinking that the restriction which he had seen fit to lay upon his sons—NOT *decidedly to intermeddle with public affairs*—had been forgotten or neglected,—was the Duke's paramount desire. This occasioned the delay which occurred in his appearance in the chair at the head of our general institutions; and which did not—for this sole and simple reason—take place until the close of the year 1812.

All his countenance of the great efforts in the cause of religion and humanity was previously confined to private support, in obedience to that which he conceived to be his father's command—that publicity should be avoided.

The sad events of the year 1812 did away with all motive for further adherence to this reserve. The Duke gave full play to his benevolent impulses. He became Patron of the British and Foreign School Society; of the Anti-Slavery Society; of the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; and in very decided terms gave in his adhesion to the Bible Society. This gave great umbrage to many sincere and earnest Churchmen, and was mentioned to him specifically at Windsor by the then Archbishop of Canterbury. His Grace regarded the British and Foreign School Society as hostile to the Church of England, and the Bible Society as antagonistic to the

elder institution, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He avowed as much to the Duke of Kent, and quoted the passage, "He that is not with us is against us."

The day is past for canvassing the merits or demerits of the Bible Society. That question is long since settled. But is controversy, under any circumstances, profitable? Does that human being exist whose views it has corrected, whose charity it has enlarged, whose spirit it has soothed, whose hopes it has brightened? Are they then hopelessly in error who hold that all those societies with which controversy is a staple article ("The Reformation Society," "The Protestant Association," "The Irish Society," &c.) are labouring in the fires, and spending their strength for nought? Will all those severe and startling denunciations—will all that platform-artillery which at times is brought to bear so sharply upon our Roman-Catholic BRETHREN—answer any good or useful purpose? It is clear—caustic—clever—stimulating. But will it disperse the mists of error—convert—reclaim—convince?

With the masses of heathens who exist around us in our crowded alleys—in our densely populated courts—in the toiling, struggling, heaving metropolis—in our factories—in our mines—can that society have an erroneous aim which seeks to distribute the Word

of God without note or comment? A society whose simple aim is to disseminate the Charter of Man's Hopes: THAT BOOK which is, the "treasure of the poor, the solace of the sick, and the support of the dying; and while other books may amuse and instruct in a leisure hour, it is the peculiar triumph of THAT BOOK to create light in the midst of darkness, to alleviate the sorrow which admits of no other alleviation; to direct a beam of hope to the heart which no other topic of consolation can reach, while guilt, despair, and death vanish at the touch of its holy inspiration."

CHAPTER XVII.

A PEEP AT THE DUKE IN PRIVATE LIFE.

1811.

"Do you desire," says Southey, "rightly to estimate a man's character and temper? Take a seat at his fireside. You may abide by that opinion which you shall then form of him in that sanctuary of the affections—home."

"Public men in society," wrote that satirical observer, Maria Jane Jewsbury, "are more or less actors. They have a *rôle* to play, and they fulfil it. They are natural only in their dressing-gown and slippers."

Not exactly in such costume, but divested of military state, and disburdened of the shackles of court etiquette, does the Duke appear in the following sketch from the pen of the late Mr. Justice Hardinge. Its fidelity may be depended on. And in gazing upon the portrait so elaborately worked out, we lose

sight of the Prince in the cordial, kind-hearted, frank, and hospitable man.

"Melbourne House, Aug. 15, 1811.

"My dearest Richard,

"That I may lose no drop from the cup of pleasure, which I enjoyed from seven in the evening of October the first to eleven, and from eight the next morning till eleven before noon, at Castle Hill; I shall record upon paper, as memory can present them, all the mazes of my enchantment, though the consummation is past.

"In the afternoon of October the first, and at half-past five, I followed my servant, in undress, and in boots, on foot, a short half-mile from Ealing vicarage to the lodges of the Duke's palace.

"Between these wings I was received in due form by a porter, in livery, full trimmed and powdered. He opened his iron gates for me, bowed as if I had been the king, and rang the alarum bell as if I had been a hostile invader. I looked as tall, as intrepid, and as affable as I could; but I am afraid that I was not born for state.

"The approach to the palace-door is magnificent, graceful, and picturesque; the line of the road, flanked by a row of lamps, the most brilliant I ever saw, is

a gentle serpentine. It commands to the right, through young but thriving plantations, Harrow-on-the-Hill, and carries the eye in a sort of leap to that eminence over the intermediate ground, which is a valley better unseen, for it is very tame. The lodges are quite new, and in Mr. Wyatt's best manner. A second gate flew open to me; it separates the home-garden from the lawn of entrance. The head-gardener made his appearance, in his best clothes, bowed, rang his bell to the house, and withdrew.

"When I arrived at the palace-door, my heart went pit-a-pat. The underwriters would not have insured my life at seven minutes' purchase, unless tempted by a most inordinate premium: an aspen leaf in a high wind stood better upon its legs than I stood upon mine; indeed, I am not sure it was not upon my head instead of my legs. I invoked all the Saints of impudence to befriend me! But think of little me! attended by six footmen! three of a side! and received at the head of this guard by the house-steward! a venerable Frenchman of the old court, and of the last age, who had very much the appearance of a Cabinet Minister. He conducted me with more solemnity than I wished up stairs into my toilette-room; at the door of it stood the Duke's valet, who took charge of me into the room, bowed, and retired. In this apartment I found my own servant.

"The exterior of the house has an elegant and a chaste, as well as a princely air. You can see 'Wyatt fecit' upon every part of the effect. But the interior struck me infinitely more, even in the bird's-eye view of it. I was all astonishment; but it was accompanied with dismay at the awful silence which reigned, as well as at the unexampled brilliancy of all the colours. There was not one speck to be seen; everything was exquisite of its kind, in the taste of its outline, proportions, and furniture. My dressing-room, in which there was an excellent fire, attached itself to the bedroom, and was laid open to it by a folding-door. These are the Regent's territories whenever he is at Castle Hill. My toilette was *à peindre*, and there was not anything omitted which could make a youthful Adonis out of an old hermit; but the mirror was honest, and youth is no birth of art. My servant, (who is in general cavalier, keeps me in order, and gives me only two or three jerks with his comb,) half scared at the new and imperial honours of his little master, waited upon me with more deference and assiduity than I had ever before marked in him. He called me once or twice 'My Lord,' as upon the circuit; and I half expected that he would say, Your Royal Highness. A gentle tap at the door alarmed us both. We opened upon a messenger, who told me in French that His Royal Highness was dressing, but

would soon do himself the honour of taking me by the hand.

"Opening by accident one of the doors in the bedchamber, painted with *traillage* in green and gold, I discovered in an adjoining closet, a running stream and a fountain. I began to think I was in the fields Elysian. The bed was only to be ascended by a ladder of steps, and they were dressed in flowered velvet. There was a cold bath, and at night hot water for my feet, if they should happen to wish for it. Pen, ink, and paper of all descriptions, made love to me. Books of amusement were dispersed upon the tables like natural flowers. I was in my shirt when His Royal Highness knocked at my door. Not waiting for my answer, he opened the door himself, and gave me a shake of the hand with his royal fist, so cordial, that one of my chalk-stone fingers, had I possessed them, would have begged him, if he had not been the son of a king, to be rather less affectionate in that shape. I hurried on my coat and waistcoat in his presence, and then he walked before me into the library. All the passages and staircases were illuminated with lamps of different colours, just as if a masquerade was in train. I began to think more and more of 'Sly' in Shakspeare, and said, like him, to myself, '*Am I indeed a lord!*' This library, fitted up in the perfection of taste, is the first room of a magnificent range,

commanding at least a hundred feet. "All the contiguous apartments in that suite were lighted up and laid open to this apartment. By a contrivance in the management of the light, it seemed as if the distance had no end.

"The Duke, among other peculiarities of habit, bordering upon whim, always recommends *the very chair on which you are to sit.* I suppose it is a regal usage. He opened a most agreeable and friendly chat, which continued for half an hour *téte à téte.* So far it was like the manner of the King (when he was himself), that it embraced a variety of topics, and was unremitted. He improved at close quarters even upon his pen; and you know *what a pen it is.* The manly character of his good sense, and the eloquence of his expression, was striking. But even they were not so enchanting as that grace of manner which distinguishes him. Compared with it, in my honest opinion, Lord Chesterfield, whom I am old enough to have heard and seen, was a dancing master. I found the next morning, at our *téte à téte,* that he has infinite humour; and even that of making his countenance subserve the character he has to personate.

"In about an hour, dinner was announced. The Duke led the way. I was placed at the head of the table; the Duke was on my right. The dinner was exquisite. The soup was of a kind that an epicure

would have travelled barefoot three miles in a deep snow to have been in time for it. The famous Dumourier was accidently mentioned. I said that I loved seeing those whom I admired unseen, upon report alone, and in the mind's view. 'But I shall never see Dumourier,' said I, 'for he is the Lord knows where, (and I cannot run after him,) upon the Continent.' 'Not he,' said the Duke, 'he is in this very island, and he often dines with us here.' I looked, but said nothing; my look was heard. A third party present asked the Duke if it could not be managed. 'Nothing more practicable,' said he; 'if the Judge will but throw down his glove in the fair spirit of chivalry, Dumourier shall pick it up.'

"The servants, though I could not reconcile myself to the number of them, were models of attention, of propriety, and of respect; their apparel gave the impression of clothes perfectly new; the hair was uncommonly well dressed and powdered. *Thereby hangs a tale!* which I cannot have a better opportunity of reporting. I had it from the best authority, that of my own servant, who had it from the *souterraine* of the establishment, which he had confidentially explored. *A hairdresser for all the livery servants* constitutes one of the efficient characters in this dramatic arrangement. At a certain hour, every male servant appears before the Duke to show him-

self *perfectly well dressed and clean!* Besides this '*law of the Medes,*' every man has a niche to fill, so that he is never unoccupied, save at his meals, in some duty or another, and is amenable to a sudden visit into the bargain. I can assure you the result is, that in this complicated machine of souls and bodies, the genius of attention, of cleanliness, and of smart appearance, is the order of the day.

"When the Duke took me the next morning to his master of the horse, instead of dirty coachmen or grooms, they were all as neat as if they never had anything to do, or as if they were going to church in state.

"The male servants meet in their hall at an unvaried hour, and round this apartment, as in a convent, are little recesses, or cells, with not only beds in them for each, but every accommodation as well as implement for their apparel. Yet all this absolute monarchy of system is consistent with a most obliging manner to the servants on his part, which I attested more than once; and with *attachment,* as well as homage *to him,* attested by the hermit's inquisitor and spy, who gave me this note of his comments—I mean, of course, my own servant.

"The next morning, I rose at seven. The lawn before me, surrounded by an amphitheatre of plantation, was covered by leaves; for they will fall, even in a garden of state. The head gardener made his

appearance, and with him five or six men, who were under his wing. In much less than a quarter of an hour, every dead leaf disappeared; and the turf became a carpet, after mowing, and after a succession of rollers, iron and stone.

"After this episode, we are to go back, and are to be at the table again. A very little after dinner the summons came for coffee; and, as before, *he* led the way, conducting me to another of the upper apartments in the range before described, and which, as it happened, was close to the bed-chamber. They were open to each other. But such a room was that bed-chamber as no Loves and Graces ever thought of showing to *a hermit*. It was perfectly regal.

"In the morning, the Duke showed me all his variety of horses and carriages. He pointed out a curricle to me. 'I bought that curricle,' said he, 'twenty years ago; have travelled in it all over the world; and there it is, firm on its axle. I never was spilt from it but once. It was in Canada, near the Falls of Niagara, over a concealed stump in a wood just cleared.'

"He afterwards opened himself very much to me in detail, with disclosures in confidence, and political ones too, which interested, as well as enlightened me greatly, but which, as a man of honour, I cannot reveal even to you. He is no gamester. He is no

huntsman. He never goes to Newmarket; but he loves riding upon the road, a full swing trot of *nine miles an hour.*

"I am going to part with him in my narrative; but not before I have commanded you to love him.

"In the morning he asked me how I was *mounted;* and before I could answer him, he whispered (in a kind of parenthesis) that he 'had for two months been putting a little circuit horse in train for my use of him in spring.' 'It was a pet,' said he, 'of the dear King, who gave it to me; and you will ride it with more pleasure for both our sakes.' These were not 'goodly words,' like those of Naphtali, or 'the hind let loose;' for my servant raised the intelligence that *such a keepsake* WAS *intended for me.* How charming is the delicacy of conduct like this! I had once complained, three or four months ago, that my own circuit Bucephalus had kissed the earth with his knees. He condoled with me, half in jest; but gave me no hint of such a fairy's boon in store for me.

"But now for the last of these wonders! I can give you not the faintest image of its effect upon me. It made me absolutely wild. The room in which our breakfast apparatus received us had at the end of it a very ornamental glass-door, with a mist over it, so that nothing was to be seen through it. He poured me out a dish of tea, and placed it before me; then

rose from the table, and opened that glass-door. Somebody (but whom I could not see) was on the other side, for he addressed words to the unseen; words in German. When he returned, and I had just lifted the cup to my lips, imagine my feelings, when a band of thirty wind-instruments played a march, with a delicacy of tone, as well as precision, for which I have no words equal to the charm of its effect. They were all behind this glass-door, and were like one instrument. The uplifted cup was replaced on the table. I was all ears and entranced; when on a sudden they performed the dirge upon *our* naval hero. It threw me into a burst of tears. With a heart for which I must ever love him, he took me by the hand, and said, '*Those are tears which do none of us any harm!*' He then made them play all imaginary varieties for a complete hour. He walked me round his place, and parted with me in these words, '*You see that we are not formidable; do come to us again! Come soon; and come very often!*

"*May* I not—*must* I not love this man?

"GEO. HARDINGE."

CHAPTER XVIII.

FRESH DIFFICULTIES AND FURTHER SACRIFICES—THE DUKE'S PRIVATE LETTER TO THE PRINCE REGENT—LORD LIVERPOOL'S REPLY—LETTER TO LORD SIDMOUTH—HIS LORDSHIP'S GUTTA PERCHA MEMORY—HIS INJUSTICE TO THE DUKE—HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRESIDES AT "THE LITERARY FUND" DINNER—HIS SPEECH—MEETING FOR THE RELIEF OF THE DISTRESSED ARTISAN—LORD COCHRANE—ADDRESS TO THE DUKE FROM CERTAIN SUPPORTERS OF CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—SPEECH AT THE FESTIVAL OF ST. PATRICK.

THE absconding of the Duke's solicitor, Mr. R——, with a sum of money which was entrusted to him to make good the insurance on the Duke's life, and for other special purposes, seems to have brought the Prince's pecuniary perplexities to a climax. His resolution was immediately taken, and was characteristic of himself. "His wines were sold, and his plate mortgaged, to supply the wants of some, and secure the claims of others to whom he stood indebted."

But before he adopted this alternative, unavoidably galling to the feelings of one so nearly allied to the

throne,—and yet the glory of his determination far exceeds the disgrace!—he decided on submitting his case and claims, through Mr. Vansittart, to Lord Liverpool, in the spring of 1814, at which period the Duke had more than one personal interview with that gentleman, and besides had the advantage of the intervention of Lord Commissioner Adam; but after being kept in a constant state of suspense until the close of the session of 1814, he had the mortification of learning, through Lord Commissioner Adam, that not only nothing would be done for him by Ministers, but also that they would not sanction an independent member introducing the business into the House of Commons, which the Duke very strongly urged as his wish, being satisfied that the justice of his case, when it came to be fairly known to Parliament, and to be investigated by a committee up stairs, would produce an attention to his pretensions, *not* for the payment of *his debts, of which he never had the presumption to entertain the slightest idea, but for the recovery of his just claims, which would enable him to discharge every embarrassment he had in the world.*

After experiencing this bitter disappointment, the Duke was strongly advised to address a formal memorial to the Prince Regent, which he did in the month of January, 1815, accompanying it by the following touching letter to his royal brother. The document

will bear a second, and even third perusal; and taking into account the rank and close relationship of the parties, is probably one of the most cogent and remarkable appeals which the polished owner of Carlton House ever received and rejected.

"Kensington Palace, June 13, 1815.

"My dear Brother,

"The recollection of those habits of unreserved confidence in which it was my good fortune to live with you in former days, and of the innumerable marks of friendship and affection which I almost daily received at your hands, added to that warm attachment which I must ever feel for you to the latest hour of my existence, as ever having been my steadiest friend in many of the most trying moments of my life, renders it impossible for me to reconcile it to my feelings, to leave it to your Ministers to be the first to acquaint you with my having addressed through them an official appeal to your justice for relief, at a moment when, overwhelmed with embarrassments, I could no longer refrain from taking that step. Unwilling to intrude long on your time, at a moment when, I know, it must be irksome to you to be disturbed with business, I will endeavour to be as brief as possible in this letter: I shall, therefore, now

go on to state that, being anxious to spare you the annoyance of being worried with my concerns, I made every possible exertion during last summer, through the medium of our mutual friend Mr. Adam, to place my situation and claims under the eye of Lord Liverpool and Mr. Vansittart, in such a light, that some mode might be devised to afford me that relief to which I felt I was in justice entitled. To my great disappointment, on the eve of Mr. Adam's last journey to Scotland, he told me finally that he had failed in all his endeavours in my behalf. No other resource was then left to me, as my creditors are beginning to be extremely troublesome, but to address you direct, and to obtain that justice at your hands, which I could not obtain of your Ministers, although they have been assured by Mr. Adam of his knowledge of Mr. Pitt having promised me, both prior to his going out of office in 1801, and subsequent to his return in 1804, that very relief which, after a lapse of ten years, I am now compelled to solicit of you.

"Having thus accounted for the cause of my application, I have next to explain, that I have addressed one memorial upon my general claim for relief, through Lord Liverpool, and a second upon the particular one of the heavy losses I have sustained as Governor of Gibraltar, from the new regulations

adopted at that place with regard to the fees that were heretofore the source of the Governor's emolument, through Lord Sidmouth, as, if his Lordship is disposed to fulfil what he promised me in 1802, at the time of my going out there, he can at once certify to you that what I apply for on that head *strictly corresponds with the assurance I have received from him*. In the first of these memorials it has been unavoidable for me to introduce a comparison between the Duke of Clarence and myself; one principal part of my claim resting upon Mr. Pitt's unqualified admission (as is well known to Mr. Adam) of the justice of my being placed in every respect upon an equal footing with him; and I rely on your knowledge of my character to acquit me of the most distant thought of wishing to draw any inference therefrom invidious to a brother, to whom, from habits of our earliest infancy, I am bound by ties of the warmest affection: I therefore consider it needless to attempt the justification of a step which, I am sure, will be viewed by you exactly as it is intended by me. It now only remains for me to add, for fear of any error arising, or misconception of my meaning, that if the principle be acceded to of placing me on a footing with the Duke of Clarence, (which I claim, first, as being just and equitable; and, secondly, as having been repeatedly admitted by Mr. Pitt,) my only wish is to be

completely clear from my embarrassments; and I am perfectly ready to subscribe to any arrangement for their being discharged by any gentleman who may be chosen by yourself or Ministers, without touching a farthing of the money myself, except such balance as shall remain after that object shall have been fully accomplished; and I hope, after saying this, no further proof will be wanted to satisfy you that my motive for making this present appeal is solely that of being honourably exonerated from my debts, and not a mean sordid desire of becoming possessed of a sum of money to be appropriated to any other purpose. Pray forgive me for the length of this letter, the matter of which I found it impossible to comprise in a smaller compass; and permit me to add one request, which is, that you will judge my claim from your own upright just mind and good heart, as then I cannot doubt of the result being favourable to my interest.

"With every sentiment of the warmest devotion and attachment,

"I remain,

"My dearest Brother,

"Your faithful and affectionate

(Signed) "EDWARD."

Thus coldly and harshly answered by Lord Liverpool:—

"Fife House, Feb. 22, 1815.

"SIR,

"I had the honour of receiving at Bath some time ago your Royal Highness's letter of the 12th January, together with the memorial enclosed in it. I took the earliest opportunity, after my return to town, of laying it before the Prince Regent, and have received His Royal Highness's commands to return the following answer:—

"The Prince Regent sincerely regrets that it is not in his power to afford to your Royal Highness the relief which you solicit. The Prince Regent feels it imposible for him to enter into the circumstances which may have induced His Majesty to settle the period at which the allowance of the different members of the royal family should commence. His Royal Highness does not recollect that he was ever particularly apprised of them, and he can only therefore express his full persuasion that in the arrangements so made His Majesty was never actuated by any undue partiality.

"The Prince Regent must, however, observe, that the situation of the younger branches of the royal

family was brought under the consideration of Government, and ultimately of Parliament, by Lord Greivlle, in 1806; that an increase was then made by Parliament to the yearly income of His Majesty's younger sons, with the exception of the Duke of York, of 6,000*l.* a-year; and that if a consideration was ever to have been had of any difference in their original situation, this was the period at which it might naturally have been brought forward; and the arrangement which then took place, must be regarded as a conclusive bar against antecedent claims, even if any such claims could ever have existed.

"With respect to the relief which was afforded by the Prince Regent's direction to His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence out of a fund which, under special circumstances, was at the disposal of the Crown at that time, in consequence of the peculiar situation of His Royal Highness, as the Prince Regent's means must be very limited with respect to any relief of this nature, he could not have conceived that this grant could have furnished any ground for a claim being advanced by any other member of the royal family.

"Your Royal Highness having, however, rested your case in a great measure on the advantages which the Duke of Clarence has enjoyed, in preference to your Royal Highness, the Prince has directed me to

observe upon this head, that the Duke of Clarence, from his situation, has been incapable of holding either regiment, government, or staff allowance, or in short, any annual income beyond the parliamentary grant, since the period when he was employed in the navy, except his half-pay; whereas your Royal Highness has been in the enjoyment for many years of a considerable part of the military advantages above stated.

"The Prince Regent has already expressed his regret, that he has not the means at his disposal to afford your Royal Highness the relief which you solicit: the income of the Civil List has for some years been acknowledged by Parliament to be unequal to defray the necessary charges which belong to it; and any application to Parliament for such a purpose as the payment of the debts of any of the younger branches of the royal family, would, as the Prince believes, be wholly unprecedented, and would certainly, under the present circumstances, be highly objectionable.

"I am, with the utmost respect,

"Sir,

"Your Royal Highness's

"Most dutiful and

most obedient humble Servant,

"LIVERPOOL."

Resolved to shrink from no effort which might issue in his extrication from his difficulties, he addressed a further memorial to the Regent, through Lord Sidmouth, detailing the assurances of support which he had received from Lord Sidmouth, on his assuming the command at Gibraltar, the heavy losses he had sustained by acting on those assurances, and the extent to which fees due—pecuniary returns which were fairly his own—had been withheld from him. To this memorial was appended the following letter:—

"Kensington Palace, Jan. 12, 1815.

"My Lord,

The accumulated pressure of pecuniary embarrassments under which I am at this moment most severely, and, I cannot help saying, most undeservedly suffering, have rendered it an imperative duty upon me, in justice to my creditors, to state respectfully to the Prince Regent, what I considered to be fair claims upon his liberality and justice, and this I have done in the form of a memorial, through the medium of Lord Liverpool; but as no one can so properly vouch for *the fairness of my claim as Governor of Gibraltar as your Lordship, under whose immediate sanction I acted in the adoption of those measures* which have so essentially diminished the

former emoluments of the Governor, and increased the revenue of the Crown, I have omitted that subject in the other memorial, judging it best to enclose to your Lordship my representation to the Prince Regent on my Gibraltar claims, and to request that your Lordship will take a favourable opportunity to submit it to His Royal Highness, and to receive his commands thereon.

"As the changes were made under the fullest assurance from your Lordship that I should not be a loser in my just emoluments as Governor by any alteration which, under your Lordship's orders, I should introduce in the wine-house licences in the garrison, I trust that you will find no difficulty in placing my memorial in the Regent's hands, and giving it that support which your knowledge of the justice of the case so well warrants you in doing. As I acted in full reliance on your Lordship's assurance, I hope that you will now, in furtherance of the same, use your endeavours to see the fulfilment of that assurance carried into effect, as much in justice to yourself as to me.

"I remain,

"With sentiments of the highest consideration and regard,

"My dear Lord,

"Yours most faithfully and sincerely,

"EDWARD."

Lord Sidmouth's incomprehensible memory — so tenacious at one time, so oblivious at another—proved an impregnable barrier to the Duke's success. That conscientious statesman, so fond of executions, and such an advocate for capital punishment, could recollect no assurance, no promise, no conversation he had ever held with the Duke on the subject of Gibraltar. The "habits of a long official life" convinced him that "he could, by no possibility," have given the Duke any intimation whatever of Government support. Under these circumstances the memorial was withdrawn, His Royal Highness determining, and wisely, not to put his word at issue with that of Lord Sidmouth: but the Duke was "*himself so perfectly positive* as to the impression made upon his own mind in the interviews he had with Lord Sidmouth prior to his departure for Gibraltar, that he should *not hesitate in* AFFIRMING ON OATH every fact of what is expressed both in the letter and memorial."

After these distressing communications the Duke felt that nothing remained but his own personal exertions and unsparing self-denial to enable him to overcome these difficulties. After many conferences with his friends, he resolved to constitute a committee of them, to assign over THREE-FOURTHS *of his income* into their hands until the complete liquidation of his debts was effected; to give them complete

control over his income; and to limit his own expenditure to a sum not exceeding the remaining fourth part thereof, with which he agreed to content himself. This plan was matured by the end of June, 1815. At that date the Duke parted with many of his servants, and made reductions to a large extent in every part of his establishment, the admirable results of which were speedily visible; for by the strenuous exertions and judicious arrangements of his friends more was done in the first twelve months that followed the general retrenchment than was accomplished in the eight years preceding.

The Duke hoped to have been able to combine the execution of his plan with remaining in England; but after giving it a trial of one year, viz. from July 1815 to July 1816, he found that it would be quite impossible for him to continue to live at home without privations even beyond those to which he had already submitted, and which would be still more painful to his feelings than any he had yet experienced. He was, therefore, under the painful necessity of coming to the resolution of becoming an exile. Popular as he was in England, and deeply attached to his country, surrounded by a circle of devoted friends, the prospect of expatriation was one that wrung the feelings; but high principle rendered the measure necessary, and it was submitted to.

The following letter belongs to this period :—

" Kensington Palace, Feb. 27, 1816.

" My dear Sir,

" I duly received, yesterday, your obliging favour, with its accompanying enclosure, and beg to express my acknowledgments for the further trouble you have taken to promote the interests of my brothers and myself. I shall, in the course of the morning, look them over with attention; and, with your permission, communicate, through our mutual worthy friend, Captain Dodd, the result of my remarks arising therefrom. In the meanwhile, I shall just observe, that although one considerable difficulty is removed from the accomplishment of a general junction of all to obtain the fulfilment of Mr. Pitt's promise, by expunging the Duke of York's case altogether, I nevertheless fear, from the different causes that operate upon the minds of my brothers, that it will be next to impossible to secure their general, or, indeed, individual concurrence, in any step to be taken with Ministers; so that, after all, I very much apprehend, that without any egotism on my part, I shall be imperatively compelled to confine myself to my own substantive case, and to commit that to the charge of some independent man, to take his choice of introducing it whenever a favourable

opportunity offers, under the hope of exciting in the House that feeling in my behalf, which I have failed in doing in the breasts of the advisers of the Prince Regent. Believe me ever to remain, with the most friendly regard,

"My dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"*To Alexander Stephens, Esq.*
Park House, Middlesex."

In the spring of this year the Duke gave renewed proof of his cordial sympathy with the sorrows and struggles peculiar to those whose precarious pursuit is literature.

On "Friday, May 10, 1816, the anniversary festival was held of the Literary Fund; and His Royal Highness again* presided in the Chair. The occasion was rendered doubly interesting by the impressive manner in which the duties of the President were discharged by His Royal Highness; and

* His Royal Highness was THE FIRST MEMBER of the *Royal Family* who honoured the Institution by presiding at its anniversary dinner. The Duke took the chair in 1815, and again in 1816; and the Institution possesses among its records a most interesting letter, dated April 23, a month before the birth of our Queen, wherein His Royal Highness expresses the warmest regard for the Institution. He had pledged himself to attend the dinner in *May*, 1820.—*Alas!*

the emotion with which the royal Chairman gave—'The King—God bless him!' followed by a solemn pause of silence, seemed to communicate itself to every bosom."

"On proposing 'Success to the Literary Fund,' the Royal Duke gave a luminous statement of the origin and purpose of the Institution; lamented, in most feeling terms, the present afflicted state of the health of the venerable Founder; and after touching with much taste and judgment on the benefits derived to the community, both in instruction and amusement, from those exertions of literary genius and talent, which *frequently failed to procure for the studious author even the common necessaries of life*, called upon all who possessed the means to afford this society the power of dispensing more largely its intended assuasives of distress, in the manner in which its assisting hand is always extended, not as the dole of mere charitable benefaction, but as an act of justice, the reward and acknowledgment of benefits conferred."

But it was not merely the ill-requited man of genius whom the kind-hearted Prince wished to succour; he forgot not the toiling and half-famished artisan.

"A very numerous meeting took place on Monday, July 29, at the City of London Tavern, to take into consideration the very distressed state of the lower classes, and the most effectual means of extending

relief to them. The Duke of York took the chair, supported by the Dukes of Kent and Cambridge. He was accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Rutland, Lord Manvers, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Wilberforce, and other distinguished individuals. The Duke of York with great brevity opened the business of the meeting. He was followed by the Duke of Kent, who, after a few observations, read the first resolution 'That the sudden transition from a state of extensive warfare to a system of peace has been productive of a stagnation of employment, and a revulsion of trade, deeply affecting many classes of the community, and causing, in particular districts, many instances of great individual distress.' His Royal Highness's speech, founded upon this resolution, and closely referring to it, was pointed and energetic, and was received with enthusiastic applause; Mr. Harman seconded the resolution.

"Lord Cochrane then offered himself to the attention of the meeting. What he desired to impress upon the minds of those whom he had the honour to address was, that the preliminary resolution which had been read by an illustrious Duke was altogether founded in fallacy. The existing distresses could not be truly ascribed to any sudden transition from war to peace. He proceeded at some length to controvert

the truth of the position, and diverged into a variety of political remarks, which, whatever weight they might intrinsically possess, were indubitably ill-advised, and unsuited to the occasion. Mr. Wilberforce very properly remonstrated with his Lordship. But much clamour was excited, and the object of the meeting in some measure failed. The resolutions, however, were carried."

Pursuing his plan of retrenchment, in August, 1816, the Duke repaired to the Continent, and settled at Brussels. The house he occupied was one which he rented of an English admiral for 300*l.* per annum. Here he lived with great privacy, and at inconsiderable expense. From hence he made frequent excursions into Germany for the purpose of visiting several branches of his family; and it was during one of these that he first saw and admired her who subsequently exercised so happy an influence on the destinies of England—the widowed Princess of Leinengen. But though the year 1816 was one of disappointment, mortification, and gloom; though its autumn saw him an involuntary exile from his native land; manifestations, decided and spontaneous, of the affection with which he was regarded by the nation, brightened, with their cheering ray, its painful progress.

On the 25th of April, the Common Council of the City of London unanimously resolved, that "in consi-

deration of the distinguished manner in which their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Kent and Sussex have exerted themselves to promote every object of benevolence throughout the United Kingdom, and especially within this city; thereby adding to the lustre of their high birth as the sons of our beloved Sovereign, and meriting in an eminent degree the sincere respect and gratitude of the city of London; the freedom of the city be presented in a suitable manner to each of their Royal Highnesses." This resolution was carried into effect on the 11th of July following; when the freedom of the city was presented to the Duke of Kent and his royal brother, in gold boxes of exquisite workmanship. The ceremony of presentation took place at Guildhall, and the illustrious Princes afterwards dined with the Lord Mayor and Corporation at the Mansion House.

In the same year, during the absence of the Duke at Brussels, a meeting was held in the metropolis, and a resolution passed that the natal day of so benevolent a Prince should be annually commemorated. The following address was transmitted to him:—

"Sir,—We, the assembled members of various benevolent institutions, honoured with the patronage of your Royal Highness, being desirous of publicly marking our attachment to your person, and our just appreciation of your virtues and talents, beg permission to tender you the sincere tribute of our respect

and affection. We are induced, by every social and moral principle, to pay peculiar honour to a dynasty distinguished like that of your illustrious family, for its paternal protection of every interest of knowledge and humanity. What, then, must we not owe to your Royal Highness, for the conspicuous part you have taken in the benign spirit of the House of Brunswick, by your unwearied and powerful exertions to render effective those measures which constitute the glory of Great Britain, and which, embracing every class of society at home, providing for the impoverished, relieving the diseased, and instructing the ignorant, aim at extending their blessings over the whole earth? We are satisfied, that in offering to your Royal Highness the gratitude of our hearts, we are also speaking in the name of our country: and we are proud of an opportunity of expressing in the language of truth, sentiments which are re-echoed among all ranks of the British Empire."

On the second of November in that year, the first meeting took place; and the distinguished gathering that assembled to express their gratitude and esteem, was a proud testimony to the many virtues of the prince. It was an assemblage remarkable for including all parties in politics and persuasions in religion, attracted by the general principle of benevolence, and desirous to testify respect and regard to the Duke,

Among the toasts was the following, received by the assembly with enthusiastic applause,—"May every royal Duke in Europe qualify himself to the same truly noble return, as His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, from the great body of his fellow-subjects."

Nor did his own trials, manifold as they were, divert his attention from the misfortunes of others, or deaden his desire to comfort and succour those on whom the chastening hand of God weighed heavily.

On taking the chair, at the anniversary of the festival of St. Patrick, His Royal Highness thus spoke :—

"My politics are no secret, nor am I ashamed to avow them. With some experience in the function which I am now executing" (he had presided at *seventy-two charity meetings* in the course of 1816), "I am not at a loss for witnesses to refer to—whether in this, or in any other charity meeting, I ever introduced a single sentence of a political tendency. You perceive on each side of me noblemen who differ in their politics, but *here* unite in cordial harmony.

"The comfort which I feel is beyond my powers of expression, at this moment, in congratulating you upon the total banishment from these meetings of all political prejudice and party feeling. True charity is of no particular party, but is the cause of all parties. I am to announce to you, as my successor in this chair

for your next festival, the name, and to give the health of, a noble person, Lord Castlereagh, with whose politics I have the misfortune to differ on some points; but to whose signal munificence, and variously proved kindness to this charity, I bear most ardent testimony. My advice is, that the example of this day may be the model for future celebrations—that the successive presidents may be alternately selected from the two sides of politics; and my earnest hope is, that each party will make it their practice to attend the presidency of their political opponents; so that liberality may become the standing fashion of these festivals; and that the generosity of politicians to the charity may be exceeded only by their generosity to each other. This is the only rivalry which I recommend; and it is what I shall assuredly support and enforce, both by precept and example, on my return to my country. The rapture with which you receive my sentiments" (the royal Duke was frequently interrupted by the acclamations of the company) "is very dear to me; but that sensation is infinitely heightened by my conviction that it is an auspicious omen for this charity."

When was judicious counsel more delicately or felicitously proffered?

CHAPTER XIX.

HIS MARRIAGE—THE HOLD OVER POPULAR OPINION EVENTUALLY OBTAINED BY THE DUCHESS.

1818.

On the demise without issue of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, state policy suggested the marriage of the younger branches of the royal family; and the Duke, at the instigation and earnest advice, it was alleged, of Queen Charlotte, paid his addresses to the sister of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg. It was an auspicious day for England which witnessed the lady's acceptance of his suit.

This accomplished and popular princess at the age of sixteen had married the then hereditary Prince of Leinengen, a suitor eight and twenty years older than herself, and in no one respect, either of person, manners, qualifications, or habits, suited to her, being entirely devoted to the amusements of the chase, and the sport of a temper singularly irritable and *uncertain*. Their union lasted twelve years, a period not without its

trials, but marked throughout, on the part of the youthful Duchess, by the most guarded and exemplary discharge of her duties towards her aged bridegroom. At the death of the Prince of Leinengen, her two children, a son and a daughter, were confided to her guardianship. The same dignified and irreproachable demeanour which, during her married life, had secured for her general and unqualified respect, characterised her widowhood. This was terminated on the 29th of May, 1818. On that day, at Cobourg, in conformity to the Lutheran rites, she became Duchess of Kent. The marriage was re-solemnized at Kew in July following, according to the ceremonial of the Church of England. The event is thus narrated in detail by one of the chroniclers of the passing hour:—

"This day (Monday, July 13th) took place the marriage of the Duke of Clarence with the Princess Adelaide, of Saxe Meiningen, and the re-marriage of the Duke of Kent to the Princess Victoria, of Saxe Cobourg. Fortunately, the Queen's health was so far improved as to permit Her Majesty to be present at the double ceremonial; for which purpose a temporary altar was fitted up in the Queen's drawing-room, which looks into Kew Gardens. At four o'clock, the royal parties having arrived, Her Majesty took her seat at the right-hand side of the altar, attended by

the Prince Regent, and was followed by the other members of the reigning family, and the great officers of State. The Duke of Clarence and his intended bride, and the Duke and Duchess of Kent, having taken their respective stations at the altar, the Archbishop of Canterbury commenced the marriage ceremony, assisted by the Bishop of London. The brides were given away by the Prince Regent. At the conclusion of the proceedings the Queen retired. At five o'clock the Prince Regent and the remainder of the company sat down to a most sumptuous banquet. Soon after half-past seven o'clock, the Duke and Duchess of Kent left, in Prince Leopold's travelling chariot, for Claremont."

There is surely a lesson marked, and significant, and ever needful, to be learnt from the chequered career of this exemplary Princess. It tells us, that *worth is in itself a party;* and can extort, independent of extraneous circumstances, the approval of mankind. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more forlorn and isolated position, than that of the Duchess when she became a second time a widow. She was almost a perfect stranger in England. The period of her married life in this country fell short of eighteen months. She had forfeited a considerable portion of her dowry as Princess of Leinengen by her marriage; and owing to some informality in the Act of Parlia-

ment, had to submit to no inconsiderable portion of delay for the first payment of the provision voted her by the British Parliament. Her sole tie to this country was a helpless infant of a few months old. Her sole protector in it, a generous and MOST AFFECTIONATE brother, but himself a foreigner; holding an anomalous position; not a peer of Parliament; linked to no party; a political cypher; wielding no official patronage; and retaining his hold upon the affections of the British people from the melancholy associations of the past, rather than by the bright promise of the future.

That in this defenceless, dependent, and apparently helpless position, a woman—and that woman a stranger—should win her way by the force of principle and character, and obtain that hold over the national confidence, as eventually, by the consent of all parties, to be named Regent of this kingdom, in the event of a certain contingency, is another proof among many, that conduct is a party in itself, and that a blameless and irreproachable life can rally round the possessor, adherents devoted, countless, and true.

It is instructive to trace in the records of the Legislature, the progress of this admirable woman in winning the affection and confidence of the British nation.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *May 27th*, 1825.

On a proposition that a sum not exceeding in the whole 6,000*l.* be granted to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent for the purpose of making an adequate provision for the honourable support and education of Her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, *Mr. Brougham* said,

"It was impossible for him to conclude this subject without adverting to the great loss which this country had sustained by the death of the lamented Duke of Kent. No man who duly appreciated his talents, his enlightened opinions, and his habits of business, but must regret it as a great national deprivation. His private virtues survived in his illustrious widow, who was most assiduous in doing that which a mother was best fitted to do, namely, superintending the education of the infant Princess."

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *May 30th*, 1825.

Mr. Secretary Canning said, "He particularly wished that mention should not be made of the Duchess of Kent on this occasion; because he was sure that to be the subject of a discussion would be as painful to her feelings as it would be repugnant to that unob-

trusive delicacy which characterised her conduct, and which rendered her an ornament to her exalted station."

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *August 3d*, 1831.

On a further grant of 10,000*l.* being proposed by Lord Althorpe,

Colonel Davis thought, "that Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent conducted herself in such a manner that she was deserving of *that love and attachment on the part of the people of England which she had obtained;* and considering the numerous public charities which she contributed to support, he was far from thinking that the grant proposed was too much."

Mr. O'Connell "believed there was not a second individual in the country who did not feel that the situation of the Duchess of Kent entitled her to this provision. The conduct of Her Royal Highness was an example to the country."

Mr. Watson Taylor said, "Her Royal Highness acted as the members of the royal family in this country had always done: she was the patroness of all charities; and large portions of her funds went to the relief of the poor, the aged, and the infirm."

REGENCY BILL.

HOUSE OF LORDS, *November 15th*, 1830.

Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst said:—"The provisions of the measure in question—the Regency Bill—are of the most simple character. The first question which your Lordships will naturally ask is—whom we propose as the guardian of Her Royal Highness under the circumstances inferred? I am sure, however, that the answer will at once suggest itself to every mind. It would be quite impossible, that we should recommend any other individual for that high office, than the illustrious Princess, the mother of Her Royal Highness the Princess Victoria. The manner in which Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent has hitherto discharged her duty in the education of her illustrious offspring—and I speak upon the subject, not from vague report, but from accurate information—gives us the best ground to hope most favourably of Her Royal Highness's future conduct. *Looking at the past, it is evident that we cannot find a better guardian for the time to come.*"

HOUSE OF LORDS, *Tuesday, December 12th*, 1837.

The Duke of Wellington "thought there could be no difference of opinion on the subject of the Address.*

* An address, stating their Lordships' readiness to concur in all such measures as might be necessary to increase the income of the Duchess of Kent.

He was quite certain, that there was no intention in the mind of any noble Lord to throw any obstacle in the way of the Address. When their Lordships considered the conduct of Her Royal Highness from the moment she arrived in this country—when they considered the care which she had manifested in the execution of the high duty which was entrusted to her —when they considered the important advantage which the country had derived from that care—and finally, when they recollected the number of years during which Her Royal Highness was left without any provision whatsoever to meet the expense connected with the education of her daughter—he was convinced that there was no noble Lord in that House, who could for a moment doubt the expediency of at once voting the Address in answer to Her Majesty's gracious Message."

Lord Brougham "spoke with great diffidence on this subject. He had not the remotest idea of objecting to what had been so well expressed by the noble Duke. He felt with their Lordships, and with a large proportion of the nation, if not with the whole nation, the merits, the high merits, of the illustrious personage of whom the noble Duke had spoken. Ever since she arrived in this country, but above all, since she was deprived of the comfort and assistance of her royal husband, she had been placed in a

peculiar situation, in a situation also of the utmost importance. During that period her conduct had been above all censure—it had been out of the reach of censure—and beyond all panegyric. Nevertheless, as they were not assembled to pass compliments on any personage, however exalted, they ought (if they did not meet as a mere matter of formality) before they pledged themselves to any increase of income, as necessary, to be satisfied as to the particulars of the case."

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *Tuesday, December 12th,* 1837.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer "hoped that the proposal which he was about to make would meet with the approbation, not only of the Commons' House of Parliament, but also of the great bulk of the people. He did hope, that the kind feeling which was expressed in Her Majesty's most gracious message, and the consideration which Her Majesty felt for Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, would not only extend itself over the country, but that it would be confirmed and strengthened by its union with another sentiment which would influence the House, a feeling not only of respect and attachment to Her Royal Highness on her own account, for her personal character, *but a deep sense of obligation which the House and the country owed to that illustrious Princess for*

the manner in which she had educated the reigning Queen of England, for the protection which she had cast over her childhood in the trying circumstances in which she was placed, for the sedulous care which she had taken of the education of Her Majesty. These feelings of gratitude would not but be increased from the consciousness which pervaded all classes, that the country was now in the enjoyment of the success attending this excellent training. In order fairly to state the case of the Duchess of Kent, he would allude to the provision which had already been made for Her Royal Highness, to the position in which she had heretofore stood, and in which she then was placed; and then he would in conclusion explain the proposition which he had to make in conformity with the gracious wish expressed in Her Majesty's message, and to what he believed to be no less the sincere wish of the House. Her Royal Highness's marriage took place in 1818, and it would be recollected by the House, that, previously to that date, serious discussions had taken place relative to the royal marriages, and to the provisions which were to be made for the royal family. The House would also particularly recollect the discussions relative to the marriage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent. When the message, announcing this event, was received, all parts of that House, members of both sides, the Government of the day, at

the head of which was the Earl of Liverpool, uniting with the honourable members who formed the opposition of that day, entertained but one feeling, and expressed but one opinion, relative to the character of the Duke of Kent, and of the sense in which the House appreciated the character of that illustrious Prince. No sooner was the royal message, announcing the marriage, received, than it was at once answered by an Address from that House. On that occasion, a jointure of 6,000*l.* a-year was voted to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, and some circumstances were stated in connexion with Her Royal Highness and of the marriage, to which he would wish particularly to draw the attention of the House. On the 15th of May, 1818, Lord Castlereagh, who was then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, thus expressed himself:—'He was persuaded that the marriage itself must be felt by the Committee to be, in every point of view, highly satisfactory, and that if any consideration were wanting to recommend it, that consideration would be found in the fact that the connexion was not new to this country; but that the illustrious female with whom His Royal Highness was about to ally himself, belonged to a family of whose virtuous and amiable qualities the country had already experienced the most convincing proof. He must say, in justice to this illustrious lady,—and it was a feature of her

conduct highly creditable to her, and which, he was sure, would recommend her to the respect of the Committee,* — that although, when the treaty of marriage was in progress, she felt it her duty not to relinquish the personal guardianship of her children by her former marriage, she did not extend that disposition to the pecuniary advantages of her widowhood, but that her marriage would deprive her of an income of 3,000*l.* a-year on that score, and of other smaller pecuniary advantages arising from her guardianship, amounting in the whole to about 5,000*l.* a-year. . . . . Until His Royal Highness was thirty-two years of age, he had only 5,000*l.* a-year allowed him by his royal father, and his emoluments of about 5,000*l.* a-year from his situation of Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in North America.' At that time an outfit was proposed for the Duke, but it appeared from the Debates that His Royal Highness declined being the cause of any burthen to the country in that respect.† The jointure of 6,000*l.* was then voted to the Duchess. At the demise of the Duke in 1820, Her Royal Highness had no other income than a jointure of 6,000*l.*

* The House was then in Committee.

† A great and grievous blunder on the part of his Lordship. An expectation of an outfit of 12,000*l.* was held out, but *never realized!* And that Lord Castlereagh knew well.

Even for some months after the decease of the Duke, in consequence of *some defect in the words of the Act ruling a settlement of this income,* Her Royal Highness could not receive this scanty provision, and thus she would have been left without one farthing, *having given up her own income,* but for some private assistance which she obtained. Under the will of the Duke, Her Royal Highness was entitled to much personal property which was bequeathed to her,—personal property on the Continent, as well as that which belonged to the Duke in this country. It was well known that His Royal Highness died in embarrassed circumstances. What, then, was the conduct of the Duchess? She abandoned the claim which she might have sustained under the will, and which was available, and *she gave the whole up to the liquidation of the debts of her deceased husband.* In taking this course, undoubtedly the best reward which she could receive was the approbation of her own conscience; and he should not have alluded to the fact, but that he felt it to be his duty to communicate it to the House as a part of the case which he had to present to their notice.

"Her Royal Highness continued from 1820 to 1825, filling the rank which was conferred upon her by her marriage, and in the receipt only of the income of 6,000*l.* derived from the public. He need only appeal to honour-

able members, who would be able to form a judgment from their own expenses, how very inadequate was this sum for the purpose of maintaining the station which Her Royal Highness held, and of supporting her family establishment. During many successive years Her Royal Highness was only enabled to maintain her position by a contribution which she received from His Majesty the present King of the Belgians. He stated this not merely to the honour and praise of the royal individual to whom he referred, but also in explanation of the facts; he conceived it to be material in the consideration of the case. It was stated to the House, in the year 1825, by a noble friend of his, Lord Ripon, that the amount of contribution thus made to Her Royal Highness by her brother was 3,000*l.* per annum. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was of opinion that the public had better at that period have looked generously into the circumstances of Her Royal Highness, than to have allowed her to be thus assisted. He had already informed the House that the property to which Her Royal Highness would have been entitled under the Duke of Kent's will, had been given up by her for the benefit of the creditors. She was, therefore, left on the death of her husband *without furniture, without outfit,* and without any further credit than what her name and position enabled her to obtain. In the year 1825 the matter

was again brought before Parliament. On the 27th of May, in that year, Mr. Canning said :—

" 'In the case of the Duchess of Kent, the parties agreed in the propriety of the grant, and if Government had anything to answer for, it was for not having proposed it sooner. There could not be a greater compliment to Her Royal Highness, than to state the great unobtrusiveness of her life; and that she had never made herself the object of the public gaze; but had devoted herself to the education of that child whom the country were called upon to adopt.' . . . .

" In further considering the question, he (The Chancellor of the Exchequer) would again remind the House of the fact, that the Duchess had received fifty per cent. upon her public income from the Prince Leopold. On that illustrious individual becoming a foreign prince, feeling no doubt that there was an inconsistency in continuing as a sovereign to draw a parliamentary annuity from this country, with that nice sense of honour by which His Majesty was distinguished, the King of Belgium at once voluntarily gave up the whole of the income which he had received, subject only to the payment of certain small charges, thus abandoning an income of 35,000*l.* freely granted him by this country, and which was his property as much as any income by the law of the land could be made the property of an individual. By this generous

renunciation of his rights, the King of the Belgians had already * effected a saving of 180,000*l.* to the nation. He had stated these facts of the case rather because he thought it was his duty not to exclude them, than because he could imagine there would be any disinclination on the part of the House to mark, by a support of his resolution, the high sense which every honourable member must feel of the admirable qualities and conduct of the Duchess of Kent. The best proof of the existence and universality of that feeling was *the trust* which, at the accession of his late Majesty, *had been reposed in Her Royal Highness.* He alluded to the passing of an Act of Parliament, drawn up with more than common care and attention, and attracting more than ordinary notice, recommended from the other House, *introduced by one Government, adopted by another, and agreed to by both, and by the Legislature and the country; by which all showed their sense of the character of the Duchess of Kent, and their implicit reliance upon her conduct.* Parliament marked the respect they felt for Her Royal Highness, founded on past services, by voting unanimously, that she should be Regent in the event that her present Majesty should succeed to the throne before she should have attained her majority. The words of the pre-

* 1837.

amble of the Act imported the high respect entertained for Her Royal Highness; that preamble declared that the enactments which it contained were adopted, in order to secure to the people that civil and religious liberty which had been enjoyed by them during the reigns of his then present, and his late Majesty. A greater tribute than this could not have been paid to Her Royal Highness's character, and it sufficiently proved the high esteem in which she was held, and the confidence which was had in her, in the event of her being called upon to act in the administration of the affairs of the country. It was, therefore, as a tribute of respect to Her Royal Highness, and, he was confident, with the fullest concurrence of the country, that he made a proposition to the House, and that proposition was, that a vote of an additional 8,000*l.* a-year should be passed for Her Royal Highness."

Mr. Hume "assured the House that no individual felt more grateful than he did for the vast and important services rendered to the country by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent; and no one in that House desired more sincerely than he did to see her in the full enjoyment of the high gratification she must derive from witnessing the result of her exemplary conduct towards the illustrious object of her care and devotion. He believed that the right honourable gentleman, in allusion to this portion of the subject;

had in no respect exaggerated the truth. *If they could put a price on gratitude*, it was not possible for any individual to be disposed to vote a larger sum on that account than he would; but he felt opposed to the present vote because he feared that it would place Her Royal Highness in a situation to derive injury rather than benefit from it. It was because he entertained the greatest respect for Her Royal Highness; it was because he earnestly wished that *she should continue to enjoy the popularity which she had so honourably earned*, that he was unwilling that one farthing of money should be given to her which might injure her in the estimation of the country."

Sir Robert Peel " should give his assent to the proposition which had been made by the right honourable gentleman. On all occasions when the Duchess of Kent's conduct had been brought under the consideration of Parliament, he had expressed in the strongest terms *his sense of the gratitude due to Her Royal Highness* for her superintendence of the education of the illustrious Princess, who was the natural object of her care. She had devoted herself in the most exemplary manner in which a mother could, to that important national charge. When retirement was best suited to the age of the Princess, she consented cheerfully to the most rigid seclusion. When the Princess had arrived at a more advanced age, and it became of

importance to introduce her to the society of the leading men of all parties, and likewise to acquaint her in some degree with the manners of the world, there were no bounds to her liberal, but necessarily moderate hospitalities. He could conceive that in indulging in that hospitality she might have exceeded the limits which Parliament had prescribed for her expenses. He, however, made no inquiry on that subject. . . . . In comparing this provision with similar provisions that had been made for others, he found nothing in the amount of the proposal that startled him on account of its extravagance. He gave his cheerful acquiescence to the motion. If he entertained any doubt as to its propriety, his respect for the private character of Her Royal Highness, his sense of her public services during the whole course of her education of her royal daughter, would induce him to suppress that doubt, and unite in the hearty concurrence which he hoped would make this vote an almost unanimous one."

Lord John Russell said, "There was so little appearance of unwillingness on the part of the House to concur in this vote, that he thought it unnecessary to resort to any arguments in its support. As to the time at which the motion was brought forward, it was the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that while, on the one hand, this was a matter which did not

properly form part of the civil list, the civil list comprehending only the arrangement required for Her Majesty; on the other hand it would not have been proper to delay it until after the Christmas recess. He did not think that the state of the House was such as to render it improper at this time to bring forward this subject. It was not a question upon which it was likely there would be any opposition of parties; and it appeared to him that there was a sufficient number of members present to consider the proposition. He did not think they could have chosen a more proper time in order to bring forward the subject than the present. He could certainly say, that the education given by Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent to her present Majesty was such, as to entitle her to the gratitude of the people of this country; because while, on the one hand, she carefully provided that the Princess should not be confined to the society of any one political party; she did at the same time afford her an opportunity of meeting the most distinguished persons of every division of opinion. He felt, therefore, that the motion proposed was one which ought to be received without any mark of dissatisfaction whatever. He was sure, from the communication they had had on the subject of this vote, that it was the wish of Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Kent, that the proposition made to Parlia-

ment should be received with satisfaction. As this was the wish of Her Royal Highness, he trusted it would also be the feeling of the House, because it was only by its being granted with willingness and cheerfulness, that the grant could be satisfactory to Her Royal Highness; and he was quite sure, that Her Royal Highness would not be gratified with any proposition which tended in the slightest degree to produce dissatisfaction."

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *Wednesday, Dec. 13th*, 1837.

Mr. Goulburn "did not rise to object to the additional grant; on the contrary, he concurred in its propriety."

Mr. Borthwick said, "The grant proceeded not on the ground of either respect or esteem, but upon two other totally distinct grounds. In the first place, the grant was made as a mark of the country's gratitude to the royal and illustrious person who had been named, for the admirable manner in which she had educated the Princess Victoria, and for having placed on the throne of Great Britain, not only the most accomplished, but the most beloved sovereign of Europe. The second ground was, the remembrance which they had of the heavy charge which had been imposed upon Her Royal Highness the Duchess of

Kent, and the care, pains, and labour which that royal person had expended on the education which had effected these accomplishments which now adorned their Queen. It was upon these two grounds that he had given his support to the motion of the right honourable gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer). If the grant had been proposed merely as a testimony of their respect and admiration for Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, he would agree that it ought not to be granted. He thought it would be a very bad precedent, to give the public money away merely out of respect or esteem to individuals, because they held exalted situations, and were placed near the throne; but he must say, the case was very different when the grant was made as a mark of the country's gratitude for services so important and so efficiently rendered, as those which Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent had performed."

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *Saturday, Dec. 23d,* 1837.

Sir G. Sinclair said, "He deeply felt and gratefully acknowledged how much the country was indebted to Her Royal Highness for the unwearied solicitude and sound discretion with which Her Royal Highness had superintended the education of our beloved Queen. Although he might be excused for adding, that he

trusted there were in the humbler spheres of life hundreds of attached and anxious mothers who had attended with as exemplary a faithfulness to the discharge of their maternal duties."

Sir Robert Inglis: "It had not been stated that it had been within the reach of probability that the Duchess of Kent might have been Queen of England. If her husband had lived, she would have been now Queen-Consort; and this ought not to be forgotten in estimating her actual position relative to their only child, and to the Throne. As it was, she was now the mother of the Queen, a position, certainly, far more prominent, and exposed to a greater scale of expenditure, and entitled to more consideration, than that which she recently occupied. He believed that the amount now proposed was not the utmost which was originally proposed for Her Royal Highness; and that the country was indebted to the disinterestedness of Her Royal Highness for the refusal of a much larger sum in a different shape. There was a prevalent rumour abroad which he believed to be true, but which he did not call upon the noble Lord either to affirm or deny,—that a much greater sum had been proposed to Her Royal Highness's acceptance in another shape. There was a report that the payment of His Royal Highness's debts had been offered and had been distinctly refused. He had had no communication with

Her Royal Highness, nor did he know anything of her debts, or whether she had any debts, but if such a report were well founded he thought that they were indebted to Her Royal Highness's liberality. He hoped the House would cordially concur in the third reading of the Bill."

Sir E. Codrington "expressed his full approbation of the grant in question. The people of England would readily pay for services to the country, and he considered Her Royal Highness had rendered most valuable service by her whole deportment, as also by the manner in which she had educated her illustrious daughter."

Lord John Russell "opposed the bringing up of the clauses.* One hundred thousand pounds had been granted to the Queen Dowager, and no condition was attached to the grant, either with regard to her residence in this country or in any other respect. As to the Duchess of Kent, he thought that it would be unbecoming to impose any such restrictions as those now proposed to the House. He begged to recall the attention of honourable members to a few circumstances connected with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent.

* These extraordinary clauses—it may be sufficient to say of them, that they were drawn up and introduced by Colonel Sibthorp, M.P. for Lincoln—went the length of imposing certain unprecedented restrictions upon the *remarriage* and residence of the Duchess.

When upon the death of her husband, and when large debts had been incurred, it was to be remembered that Her Royal Highness had the temptation before her—she who had been born and bred a foreigner—to go to another country and to reside there during the infancy of the Princess Victoria. The Duchess of Kent, however, preferred her duty to what might be considered her inclination, and determined upon bringing up her daughter here. In 1825, it was proposed by the Ministry of the day to increase the grant to Her Royal Highness; they did propose it, and to that proposal no condition was attached. If it were ever proper to propose such a condition, that was the proper time for doing it, as the Duchess of Kent then had the care of her daughter, and the main object of the grant was to be applied for that purpose. Parliament showed its confidence in Her Royal Highness, while with respect to another royal person Parliament imposed restrictions; but doing this they felt no disposition to impose restrictions upon Her Royal Highness, and the confidence then reposed had been proved to be well deserved, and was fully sustained. Besides, as they were aware, the Duchess of Kent having the best preceptors for the Queen, he must mention this fact, which he did not know had been stated before, that when the present Queen was eleven years of age, not content with

what she had done, the Duchess of Kent referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Lincoln, to inquire into the education bestowed, and to suggest what other course would be the most suited to make her, if it should please Providence that she should be called upon, fit to reign over this country. Another grant had been made by Parliament in 1831; no condition was annexed to that grant; the same confidence before reposed in Her Royal Highness by Parliament was continued; and he thought that no one could contradict the assertion that that confidence of Parliament had not been misplaced. Having, then, upon former occasions, made these grants without any restriction, now that they were to express their gratitude for the care that had been bestowed upon the Sovereign, and when they had to consider that Her Royal Highness was now nearer to the Throne than she had been then—now when they had to do this, was there not to be the same liberality manifested towards Her Royal Highness when her task had been successfully performed? In such circumstances, he considered it would be most unbecoming it would be most indecent, if the motion proposed were to be successful, and that restrictions were imposed which could only be regarded as derogatory to the merits of Her Royal Highness."

Mr. Briscoe, "in supporting the Bill, declared, in reply to the honourable and gallant member for Lincoln, that it was his opinion that Her Majesty's Ministers were entitled to the gratitude of the country."

Clauses negatived—Bill passed.

CHAPTER XX.

AMORBACH—RETURN TO ENGLAND—BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS VICTORIA—THE LINE OF CONDUCT ADOPTED BY THE PRINCE REGENT—THE DUKE'S FEELINGS AS A FATHER—HIS EARNEST PIETY—SCENE AT KENSINGTON PALACE.

1818—1819.

It is painful to connect with a wedding aught that is other than bright and joyous; but, faithfully to follow out the career of the Duke, it is imperative to state, that even at the period of his marriage, those who throughout his life had showed such culpable indifference to his claims and comforts, took care to mislead and deceive him. His nuptials, though conducted with every possible regard to economy, had involved him in heavy and unavoidable expenses. To meet these, the Ministry had led him to expect an outfit of 12,000*l.*; not one farthing of which was ever granted him. His committee were therefore obliged to make a commensurate advance from the funds destined to the liquidation of his debts; and thus the period of his

deliverance from his encumbrances was still further protracted.

Under these circumstances His Royal Highness was obliged to persevere in his plan of residing on the continent; and in conformity with that resolution—which was one, not of choice, but of bitter necessity—proceeded, in a few weeks after the ceremony of his marriage, to Amorbach, the residence of the Prince of Leinengen, which the Duchess, who was left, by the will of her late husband, guardian of her son (a minor), and regent of the principality during his minority, had occupied as *her* residence during the period of her widowhood.

It was pending their Royal Highnesses' retirement at this spot, that the prospect of the Duchess giving an heir to the British Crown, induced His Royal Highness, *as an Englishman*, to wish to return home to England, in order that his child might draw its first breath upon English ground.

In a long letter, addressed to Dr. Rudge, dated Amorbach, March 19th, 1819, the Duke says:—

"The interesting situation of the Duchess causes me hourly anxiety; and you, who so well know my views and feelings, can well appreciate how eagerly desirous I am to hasten our departure for Old England. *The event* is thought likely to occur about the end of next month. My wish is, that it may take place on

the 4th of June, as that is the birth-day of my revered father; and that the child, too, like him, may be BRITON-BORN."

In this patriotic desire the Duchess fully participated. Fresh sacrifices became necessary, in order to enable them to fulfil what was considered by their Royal Highnesses as no less a duty to the royal family and to the country, than to themselves and their expected infant: but so difficult was it found to procure the means for accomplishing this important object, that Her Royal Highness had completed the seventh month of her pregnancy, before, at its most dangerous period, she was enabled to set out towards England. "Being literally prevented," was the expression of her royal husband, "from moving until then, through the want of means to meet the expenses of the journey."

One can with difficulty imagine a position more trying to the feelings of a husband and a prince. In his case such an exigency would appear incredible, were it not supported by incontestible evidence. That it brands with cruelty the memory of other parties: and that written documents, still extant, support the charge, is a fact that defies contradiction.

The Duke's exigencies were known to the luxurious Sybarite at Carlton House. They were no secret to the Premier, Lord Liverpool. The Regent and his

Minister were fully cognisant of the Duke's intense, restless, and indescribable anxiety to reach England. *They were aware of the situation of the Duchess.* They knew—none better than they—that that clear-sighted woman was tremblingly alive to the importance of her child being born in England, close to the seat of government, and under the surveillance, so to speak, of the great officers of State. They knew that both Duke and Duchess deprecated the idea of their child being born abroad; of its first seeing the light in a retired spot in Germany, and being subjected to the thousand-and-one rumours that might hereafter be raised relative to its identity. Where was the affection of a brother? where the liberality of a prince? where the ceaseless jealousy for the honour and interests of his house, which one would suppose would animate the heir apparent to a throne? *They slept.*

Not the slightest effort was made by either Regent or Minister to relieve that noble spirit from the crushing anxiety which then oppressed him. No tender of the slightest pecuniary assistance from those in power greeted him. Firm, devoted, but untitled, and comparatively speaking humble friends in England, made the requisite remittances, and surmounted the difficulty. The eldest brother, the Regent, the *virtual* head of his house, was, if the slightest reliance is to

be placed on written documents, desirous only to surround his path with *future* and fresh perplexities.

A gentleman whose opportunities for information were great, and whose testimony is above all suspicion, thus writes me in reference to this momentous period:—

"The Regent, latterly, took great umbrage at the Duke, on two accounts. First, for the facts, for such they are, which he introduced in his memorial to the Government for the payment of his claims for remuneration for losses, and for fulfilment of the promises made to him by Mr. Pitt. These facts related to the Duke of Clarence, and to the sums of money which His Royal Highness had received from Government. It was foreseen that these statements would give great offence, but the Duke was resolute: and in the memorial went—*entire*. The next time the Duke met his brother, the Regent, at the Spanish Ambassador's, he shook hands with the Duchess, but *took not the slightest notice of the Duke!* Another and further ground of offence was his coming from Amorbach, against the express injunction of the Regent, for the confinement of the Duchess. It was intimated to him (if I can find his letter on this subject, I will forward it; it is preserved) that he would not be well received. This from a brother!"

Providentially, no injury resulted from the Duchess being obliged to travel at so late a period of her pregnancy, and the journey was accomplished in sufficient time to answer the purposed object. On the 24th of May, 1819, a little Princess made her appearance at Kensington Palace,—to be, ere many months passed, fatherless! and within twenty years from that date, to ascend the throne of England.

Ah! could her noble-minded, oppressed, and struggling father have foreseen the bright vista of coming years——but inscrutable wisdom, and infinite mercy, veil the future!

The joy of the Duke at the birth of his daughter, and the safety of the Duchess, was deep, absorbing, and uncontrollable; and the following trait is too honourable to the Duke's feelings as a husband and father, and *too conclusive of his sentiments as a Churchman*, to be omitted:—

"Sunday, June 29, 1819.

"This afternoon Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent was PUBLICLY churched, in the parish church of Kensington, by the Bishop of Salisbury. The Duke of Kent *led the Duchess* to the Communion-table."

Take another proof of the depth and earnestness of his devotional feelings.

"Two or three evenings previous to his visit to Sidmouth," thus writes to me one, whose intercourse with the Duke was constant, "I was at Kensington Palace; and on my rising to take leave the Duke intimated his wish that I should see the infant Princess in her crib; adding, 'As it may be some time before we meet again, I should like you to see the child, and give her your blessing.' The Duke preceded me into the little Princess's room, and on my closing a short prayer that as she grew in years she might grow in grace, and in favour both with God and man, nothing could exceed the fervour and feeling with which he responded in an emphatic Amen. Then with no slight emotion he continued, 'Don't pray, simply, that her's may be a brilliant career, and exempt from those trials and struggles which have pursued her father; but pray that God's blessing may rest on her, that it may overshadow her, and that in all her coming years she may be GUIDED AND GUARDED by God.' *That prayer was offered!*"

HAS IT NOT BEEN HEARD? Would the great Father of all the families of the earth be deaf to so earnest a petition? Would he who was ere long to pass into his Maker's presence, and who was now interceding

for that babe he was so soon to leave—would he pray *in vain?*

Ah, no! There is an abiding promise to godly parents: "What man is he that *feareth the Lord?* His soul shall dwell at ease: *and his seed shall inherit the earth.*"

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DUKE'S ENDEAVOUR TO DISPOSE OF HIS PROPERTY AT CASTLE HILL BY LOTTERY—FRUSTRATED BY MINISTERS—LORD CASTLEREAGH'S CANDID CONSTRUCTION OF MR. HUME'S MOTIVES.

1819.

The Duke, desirous beyond measure to remain in England, haunted by an ever present consciousness of his debts, and deeply concerned to cancel them, resolved on disposing of all his property in England, and dividing its proceeds among his creditors. On Castlebar Hill no expense had been spared. According to the estimate of Denew, one of the most experienced land agents in London, its intrinsic value was no less than fifty-one thousand pounds.

"Charles Street, Berkeley Square,
Aug. 19, 1819.

"I do hereby certify, that being called upon by the principal creditors of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent in the year 1815, to appraise the property of

His Royal Highness at Castle Hill, near Ealing, consisting of the mansion and offices, gardens and pleasure-grounds, together with the fixtures and furniture, according to an inventory thereof; that I surveyed and examined the whole most minutely, and gave it as my opinion that the intrinsic value of the same was fifty-one thousand three hundred pounds. And I further declare, that to the best of my judgment, an establishment similar to Castle Hill, in which all the materials used, and also the furniture and fixtures, are of the very best description, and wherein every possible convenience and comfort abounds, could not be completed for a less sum than one hundred thousand pounds.

(Signed) "JAMES DENEW."

But the depression of the times militated greatly against the advantageous disposal of the property. To sell it then would be to sacrifice it. In order, therefore, to make the most of his resources for the laudable purpose referred to, he sought permission from the House of Commons to transfer the ownership of Castlebar Hill to some lucky purchaser by lottery.

The ensuing debate shows how the House, or rather the Ministry of the day, met the Duke's proposition.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *June 30th*, 1819.

Mr. Grenfell observed, "that in the votes he read the following:—'Duke of Kent's Lottery—Petition for leave to present a petition for a Bill—reported—leave given.' He wished for some explanation as to the nature of the proposed lottery."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer "was perfectly ready to state the whole transaction as far as he was acquainted with it. An honourable member had, some time since, applied to him to lay before the Treasury a memorial from the Duke of Kent, for a Bill to enable him to dispose of a great part of his property by lottery. It was then thought that the consent of the Crown was necessary, and the commands of the Prince Regent were therefore taken upon it. His Royal Highness had referred the question to the Lord Chancellor, the First Lord of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had considered the question, whether it would be expedient that any individual should be allowed so to dispose of his property to pay off debts or encumbrances, and they had determined that to recommend such a Bill to Parliament would be setting a dangerous precedent. They had, therefore, recommended that *the royal leave, if it were necessary, should not be granted.* This information he had given to the honourable member who had

offered the memorial; and it had been thought most consistent with delicacy to the illustrious personage concerned that the memorial should be returned, and the whole proceeding considered a nullity. Since that time a precedent had been found which warranted the conclusion that the consent and recommendation of the Crown were not necessary. A petition had accordingly been presented to the House, but His Majesty's Government had given no sanction to it."

Mr. Grenfell said, "that Government had acted in this affair as the country expected of them. A Bill had, he understood, been prepared, and he trusted the House would not allow it to pass without due examination."

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Friday, July 2d.*

Mr. Alderman Wood brought up the report of the Committee on the Duke of Kent's petition, which stated that the petitioner had not obtained any parliamentary allowance till he was thirty-two years of age, and that previously to that time he had been put to considerable expenses and subjected to heavy losses in Canada, and compelled to contract considerable debts, and to raise money by way of annuity; but that by subjecting himself to the strictest economy, and living in foreign parts, he had reduced his debts to 70,000*l.*

That to discharge this sum, he was anxious to dispose of the property of which he was possessed; that the only part of his property which he was enabled to dispose of was his mansion at Castlebar Hill, and the furniture, which was valued at 50,000*l.*, but which in the present state of the market could not be sold but at a considerable loss. That he was willing, however, to sell his property rather than that the payment of his creditors should be longer delayed, or that his royal consort should be compelled to submit to privations; as he was desirous that no part of the allowance granted him by Parliament should be expended in foreign parts, and that his daughter, newly born, should be from her earliest years educated in the language and customs of the country. He, therefore, prayed that he might be allowed to dispose of his property by way of lottery.

Mr. Alderman Wood said, "that in moving to bring in a Bill he should offer a few words. This lottery was not open to the objections to which lotteries in general were liable. The property to be disposed of in this case was of the full value stated in the petition. He was assured from the highest authority that it had cost 120,000*l.* The gentlemen opposite to him might object to it because the sale of the tickets of the State lottery might be injured; but he assured them that this would not be the case; for

such was the popularity of the Duke of Kent in the city, that the tickets might be said to be already sold. There were persons who would be ready to advance the whole sum on the passing of the Bill. Why did the character of the Duke of Kent stand so high? Because he had raised dormant charities, and created an immense number of new institutions. He was at the head of every institution connected with poverty and disease, and aided them not by his name only, but by his constant labour and attendance. After detailing the several precedents for a lottery of this kind, the worthy Alderman concluded with moving for leave to bring in a Bill."

Mr. Grenfell "resisted the proposition, upon the ground that it would create an improper and inconvenient precedent. If the Duke of Kent were authorized by Parliament to dispose of his property by lottery, what was to prevent *any private individual* from applying to Parliament for an Act to authorize the disposal of *his* private property in a similar manner?"

Mr. Hume "hoped the House would give him the opportunity of offering that explanation which the part he had taken enabled him to give, both of the motives which actuated His Royal Highness to take the course he had done, and the measures which had been actually taken. Having enjoyed the friendship of His

Royal Highness for ten years, and having been intimately acquainted with his public conduct and private affairs, what he should offer as to the transactions of that period, he could pledge himself for, and he should state no prior transactions that could be contravened. On the 10th ultimo, (said Mr. Hume,) I waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to inform him that the Duke of Kent had been advised to apply to Parliament for leave to allow his trustees to dispose of his house and lands at Castlebar Hill by lottery. The Chancellor desired a memorial to be laid before the Treasury by the Duke for their sanction. This was done; and by order of the Prince Regent, referred to the Lord Chancellor, and others of the Privy Council, who disapproved of the plan, alleging that it would be a most dangerous precedent. A second memorial was presented with the like success, and the Chancellor candidly informed the gentlemen who waited on him, that they (the Ministers) would leave the Bill to the House. If the decision had been founded on fact, he should have bowed to the decision; but he contended that the precedent of the Adelphi lottery, Pickett-street lottery, and Sunderland-bridge lottery, were all in point, all to enable trustees *to raise money to pay off debts.* He would add, that *the Pigot diamond had been sold by a lottery granted* TO A PRIVATE SUBJECT. Was it, then, *because the Duke of Kent was*

THE PETITIONER on this occasion that the House would refuse the request? would they refuse *to him* what had been granted TO OTHERS? The Duke only asked for the lottery to enable him to pay off debts contracted under circumstances which he could neither direct nor control. He was confident the history of the Duke's difficulties was not known, or they would influence gentlemen to think differently of the course now adopted by that illustrious individual. He should, as shortly as possible, put the House in possession of the facts. The Duke in 1785, at the age of eighteen, left England for Hanover, where he joined the Guards, and served with them for two years. He then went to Geneva, where he studied for two years. Whilst abroad he met with his countrymen, whose society he naturally courted, and whose habits he naturally followed. *The Duke was only allowed during those four years two pistoles a-week.* He did not intend in any way to reflect on the parental conduct of the King in keeping the Duke at this time so short of money; but the fact was so. And the consequence that followed may be easily anticipated by every gentleman. The Duke got in debt, and could not do otherwise. At the age of twenty-three, therefore, he had contracted debts to the amount of 20,000*l.*, which he expected to pay off from the first parliamentary allowance, which he expected to receive at the age of twenty-four. (Mr.

Hume then gave a brief sketch of the Duke's services, losses, and military sacrifices, bringing them down to the year 1802.) In that year His Majesty appointed the Duke of Kent to the command of Gibraltar, as a reward for his military services, and he joined the garrison accordingly. The Duke was sent out to Gibraltar with special instructions, and he had a difficult duty to perform, to reclaim the troops to habits of sobriety and discipline; but he did effect the object, though attended with symptoms of mutiny on the part of the troops. By the suppression of the wine-houses, to check the prevailing drunkenness, *he reduced the fees of the Governor from* 6,000*l.* *to* 2,000*l.* *a-year.* HE HAD BEEN PROMISED BEFORE HE LEFT ENGLAND THAT ANY SACRIFICE OF EMOLUMENT WHICH HE, THE DUKE, MIGHT MAKE, TO ACCOMPLISH THE DISCIPLINE AND SOBRIETY OF THE GARRISON, SHOULD BE MADE UP TO HIM.

"But THAT HAD NEVER BEEN DONE. During the nine years previous to and including the year the Duke commanded at Gibraltar, the average fees received were 7,000*l.* a-year; and the Duke whilst absent was fairly entitled to one-half, or 3,500*l.* a-year for the sixteen years past. But he has not got one pound, though his share amounts to 56,000*l.* Now, I would ask, what has become of those fees since the Duke's departure? Was it unreasonable for the

Duke of Kent to ask from this fund to be placed on the same footing as other governors are placed? Mr. Pitt had promised to take the claims of the Duke into consideration; but his death, and the indisposition of His Majesty, had prevented anything being done. In 1815 the Duke urged his claims for the arrears of his parliamentary allowance and fees from Gibraltar, but without success; and seeing no hopes of any aid but from his own resources, he did then nobly and honourably resolve, by economy, to pay off his debts. Of the allowances of every kind which he received, he gave 17,000*l.* a-year to pay his debts, and lived on 7,000*l.* a-year for the three years that followed, and until his marriage, which altered his establishment. If the Duke of Kent were now placed on the same footing as to parliamentary allowance as the Duke of Clarence, he would have to receive 96,000*l.*; or, in other words, 12,000*l.* for eight years, from the age of twenty-four to thirty-two, when he did not receive any. If he were placed on a footing with the Duke of Sussex, he would receive 29,000*l.* As all these applications had failed, his own retrenchment has extinguished half of his debt; but being married, he cannot live on the same reduced establishment as he did before. Having conveyed to trustees the house and grounds of Castlebar Hill, valued at a sum equal to all his remaining debts, he was anxious to have that

property sold for the benefit of his creditors; and as the trustees had not been able to sell it at a fair valuation in the ordinary way of sale, he had been strongly advised to dispose of it by lottery, never doubting that this House would refuse to him what it had granted to others for like purposes. He did not approve of lotteries; but he considered the present plan as free from almost all the evils incumbent on money prizes."

Lord Castlereagh opposed the motion. "He was averse to the practice of lotteries for the disposal of private property generally; and in this particular case he was the more disposed to resist it, because he would not consent to establish a precedent in the person of a member of the royal family. The worthy Alderman had indulged in a panegyric upon the exertions of the royal Duke to promote the interest of public charities. But no judicious friend of His Royal Highness could possibly advert to those exertions with the view of making an appeal to the eleemosynary bounty of the public, to interest their feelings so as to induce them to purchase tickets in the proposed lottery. He was quite at a loss to imagine upon what authority that honourable member had ventured to insinuate that there was any undue partiality in the mind of His Majesty towards any one of his children. He concluded by expressing his conviction

that the best friends of the Duke of Kent would lament much what had been said that night."

Mr. Forbes "expressed his regret that the case of the Duke of Kent did not meet with more attention from the House. But whatever might be the fate of the motion under discussion, he trusted that the mover and seconder would not fail to bring forward, *early in the next Session*,* some distinct proposition for compensating the Duke for the various losses which he had suffered in the service of his country. *The whole of the conduct of this illustrious personage was what became an honest and patriotic Englishman.*"

Lord Lowther "hoped the motion would be withdrawn."

Alderman Wood "disclaimed the idea of bringing forward this measure with any such view as that of rewarding the Duke of Kent for his exertions in the cause of public charity. For those exertions His Royal Highness was entitled to a higher and more dignified reward. This measure had been pressed upon him (Alderman Wood) by others; viz. by the Trustees for liquidating the Duke's debts. He would withdraw the motion."

Lord Castlereagh assented.

Motion withdrawn.

* A period which the illustrious victim of misrepresentation never lived to see.

So ended this memorable debate. Ministers would neither mete out to the Duke of Kent common justice; nor fulfil the promise solemnly made him by Lord Sidmouth; nor grant him the arrears, fairly due to him, of his parliamentary allowance; nor remunerate him for the heavy losses he had sustained by the destruction of equipment after equipment in the public service; nor pay his debts, which he did *not* ask; nor afford him facilities (which he *did*) for discharging them himself. They were content only to harass and annoy him. Certainly the Cabinet of the Prince Regent were consistent in injustice towards their royal master's *popular* brother—Was this his crime? and to the very last?

But the haven was now in view. This was the final disappointment. No further trial was in store for him. Reverses—embarrassments—misrepresentation—fraternal injustice—each and all had, in turn, been cheerfully borne and battled with. The term of endurance was on the eve of closing: now drew on the season of rest.

CHAPTER XXII.

TAKES THE CHAIR FOR THE LAST TIME AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN SCHOOL SOCIETY—HIS SPEECH ON THE OCCASION—DEPARTURE FOR SIDMOUTH—REMARKABLE EXPRESSION IN ONE OF THE DUKE'S LETTERS RELATIVE TO THE INFANT PRINCESS—HER NARROW ESCAPE FROM SERIOUS INJURY—LETTER FROM THE DUKE ABOUT THE SCHOOL AT AMORBACH.

1819.

We naturally scan, with eagerness, the closing portions of the life of those whom we reverence and love. We are desirous to ascertain whether the autumn of life fulfilled the promise of its spring; whether, as the immortal spirit drew nearer and nearer to the period of its release from its prison-house—the body, there was a progressive and corresponding ripening for the blissful inheritance of immortality. We are curious to learn whether, towards the close of life, there was any renunciation of former principles; any withdrawal from benevolent enterprises; any hardening of the affections; any hesitation; any selfishness; any doubt; any fear.

He, whose career we have been considering, will bear the most searching scrutiny in this respect. He was benevolent, indulgent, forgiving, and considerate to the last.

The Duke, from its formation, had cordially supported the British and Foreign School Society.

Zealously concerned for the spread of education among the masses, he had patronised Joseph Lancaster, even before the Society was regularly constituted; and from the very first took a deep interest in its proceedings.

In 1813—1814, meetings of the Committee were occasionally held, *at his request*, at Kensington Palace, at which he presided, and was supported by the Duke of Sussex, and the late Duke of Bedford. He frequently took the chair at the annual meeting; but as the proceedings at those meetings were not then reported, no record exists of the Chairman's speeches, — with but *one* exception; that delivered May 15, 1819. It may be considered as his farewell to the Society.

"His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent opened the Meeting as follows:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is three years since I had the pleasure of presiding at the Anniversary of this excellent establishment, and I believe I may venture to say, it will prove a proud day for me. The

Report will show what has been done in that time. We have had, as you are well aware, great prejudices to struggle against. I flatter myself these are all dispelling, and the time will come when, instead of finding rivals in other establishments, we shall find only friends, such as I trust we, with our hearts as well as by our conduct, shall be able to convince that our object is the same. Without alluding to what are termed the National Schools for any other purpose than to name them as an auxiliary by which a great deal of good is accomplished, I still wish to repeat my own preference to the British and Foreign School Society, upon that simple, broad, and plain principle, that we admit children of all religious persuasions, and give them that education, which by the other establishments is *granted* only on terms which, according to my principles, appear too narrow. So much good is done—so much instruction is given by them to the lower classes of society, that we can but feel proud that *out of an establishment originating with us, has sprung another establishment,* which though it does not go hand in hand with us, at least does much good, and from which the poor derive great benefit. In that light alone we would wish to view them, and I hope the time will come when they will view our establishment with similar feelings."

The health of the Duchess, which had suffered from

the unwearied solicitude with which she fulfilled her maternal duties,* required a milder climate; and Sidmouth was selected as the winter residence of the royal pair. They intended in early spring to return to Amorbach!

They reached Woolbrook Cottage in December: and under date of the 29th, there is a singular passage in a letter addressed by the Duke to a friend with whom he had freely corresponded for years:—

"My little girl thrives under the influence of a Devonshire climate, and is, I am delighted to say, strong and healthy; *too healthy*, I fear, in the opinion of some members of my family, by whom she is regarded as an intruder; how largely she contributes to my own happiness at this moment it is needless for me to say to *you*, who are in such full possession of my feelings upon this subject."

"Regarded as an intruder!" These words contrast strangely with the felicitous remark of one of the most eloquent speakers in the House, which, while I am

* "I appreciate most gratefully your obliging remarks upon the Duchess's conduct as a mother; upon which I shall only observe, that parental feeling, and a just sense of duty, and not the applause of the public, were the motives which actuated her in the line she adopted. She is, however, most happy that the performance of an office, most interesting in its nature, has met with the wishes and feelings of society."—Letter from His Royal Highness to Dr. Collyer, dated Kensington Palace, Sept. 30, 1819.

writing, is read to me by *a very juvenile* secretary. Am I forbidden, because the orator holds a creed at variance with my own, from admiring and quoting him?

"He might as well frankly state what were his sentiments with respect to the words 'Fidei Defensor,' 'Dei gratiâ.' With respect to the first, he could only say he regarded our Sovereign as the Head of the Protestant religion, and he hoped the title to the appellation would never be destroyed. As to the words 'Dei gratiâ,' he thought the Sovereign who reigned over them was adorned with so many virtues as to be indeed the gift of God, and he trusted she might long be spared to them by His favour."*

Even in early childhood this life was placed in jeopardy, as the following incident will prove:—

"Sidmouth, Dec. 30, 1819.

"Yesterday and this day, the weather proving favourable, their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Kent, and the Princess, have been each day on the promenade, where they continued walking a considerable time. The dangerous practice of inexperienced persons being trusted with guns had yesterday been nearly attended with disastrous consequences: an apprentice boy, shooting at small birds, had the

* Mr. Shiel, House of Commons, Feb. 1850.

hardihood to approach so near the residence of their Royal Highnesses, that the shot broke the windows of the nursery, and passed very near the head of the infant Princess, who was in the arms of the nurse. The delinquent was detected; but, at the request of the Duke, he was pardoned, upon a promise of desisting from such a perilous recreation."

But whether at Kensington or at Woolbrook, in a palace or a cottage, the current of thought and daily aim were one and the same—to benefit others. And this, one of his latest letters, derives no inconsiderable degree of interest from its being connected with a subject on which he was always earnest—the education of the poor.

"Sidmouth, Jan. 8, 1820.

"My dear Sir,

"I had the pleasure last night of receiving your favour of the 3d instant, with the interesting enclosure herewith returned; which, as the constant and zealous friend of the promotion of education amongst the poor, upon the principles of the British and Foreign School Society, all over the world, you may easily imagine has given me satisfaction. I most highly approve of the instruction the Committee have given you to correspond with the

several highly respectable individuals quoted in the letters from Mr. Stephen Grellett; and the moment you are so good as to explain to me *to whom* it is wished that I *should address a letter*, recommending the opening a correspondence with our Society, in general furtherance of the cause of education, and an interchange of communication and assistance, I will immediately pen it; but your letter is not sufficiently explicit on that head, and therefore I am prevented doing this by return of post.

"The communications I have received from Brussels, from my old respected friend Colonel Houlton, have been extremely satisfactory; and I conceive, now that a proper subscription has been raised, and Mr. Piré chosen as the fittest person to fill the important station of Master, the only thing remaining is that he should have a complete training, in the first instance at the Borough Road School, and then a little practice at Paris, at the Central School; during which time, if, as you judiciously propose, Mr. Frossard can be spared from Jersey, to take charge of the school, the best results might be expected to the undertaking. I have already written to my friend Colonel Houlton, to recommend Mr. Piré being sent to England; and I think it would be right for Dr. Schwabe, as our foreign secretary, to address a letter to the President of the Committee, who I believe is Mr. Beyens, to

propose giving the instruction and necessary information to Mr. Piré, for such time as may be necessary; and if at the same time Mr. Frossard could be spared to take his place in the interim, I apprehend there would be little doubt of the object being accomplished.

"Upon the subject of the Master and Mistress for Amorbach, the Duchess thinks she can do nothing until our return there in the spring, to pay our annual visit, at which period I trust that matter will be brought to its completion; it being our joint intention to fit up a school for the instruction of all the poor of that place, both male and female, at our personal expense, if we cannot accomplish it otherwise; conceiving that, when her son comes of age, it will be the handsomest present we can make him.

"I have now only to request, when you answer this, that you will forward your letter to N. Kirkland, Esq. No. 8, Bennett-street, St. James's.

"With every sentiment of esteem and regard for yourself,

"I remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"*James Millar, Esq. &c. &c. &c.*"

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE DUKE'S LAST ILLNESS—DEATH—THE PEACE AND TRANQUILLITY OF HIS EXPIRING MOMENTS—DR. MATON—INTERVIEW WITH THE PRINCE REGENT—THE DUKE'S FUNERAL—HIS WILL—HIS RE-ASSERTION IN IT OF HIS JUST BUT EVADED CLAIMS—HOMAGE PAID TO HIS MEMORY IN THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

THE year 1820 came in—the last of the Duke's life. He made it, as usual, the occasion of kindly expressions to those honoured with his regard. Unconscious of the approaching event, he thus writes to Dr. Rudge, two days only before the commencement of his last illness:—

"I fear it will be some time before we meet again. I shall, therefore, avail myself of this opportunity of wishing you health and happiness, until spring, when I hope I shall again have the pleasure of seeing you before our return to the continent, where, on account of the Duchess's duties as guardian of her two children, and Regent of her son's principality, we cannot avoid going towards the end of April."

About the third week in January, the nation, with whom he had become generally and deservedly popu-

lar, received a severe shock, from the painful and wholly unexpected announcement that the Duke was seriously ill,—was pronounced beyond recovery,—was dying,—was no more! The deplorable event took place at Woolbrook Cottage, at ten o'clock on the morning of January 23d. The violence of his disease threatened from the commencement a fatal result; but the bulletin of Thursday held out some little ground of hope. The favourable change was, however, deceitful; it was the pause in nature which gradually precedes the last struggle. His Royal Highness's disorder was inflammation of the lungs. He bore his sufferings with the greatest fortitude and resignation.

Prince Leopold, Captain Conroy, and Generals Wetherall and Moore, were present to afford consolation and support to the Duchess in this most trying scene. Her Royal Highness had been indefatigable in her attentions, and performed all the offices of his sick-bed with the most tender and affectionate anxiety. She did not even take off her clothes for five successive nights; and all the medicines were administered by her own hands.

From the first account of the Duke's illness, those who were the best acquainted with His Royal Highness's constitution felt the most serious apprehensions of a fatal result.

On Thursday se'nnight, His Royal Highness took a long walk with Captain Conroy in the environs of Sidmouth, and returned to the cottage with his boots thoroughly soaked. . . . . .

Captain Conroy, on reaching home, urged the Duke to change his boots and stockings; but the suggestion was unheeded until he dressed for dinner, being attracted by the smiles of his infant Princess, with whom he sat for a considerable time in fond parental endearment. Before night, however, he felt a sensation of cold and hoarseness, when Dr. Wilson prescribed a draught composed of calomel and Dr. James's powders. This His Royal Highness, confiding in his strength, and from an aversion to medicine, declined taking, remarking, that he had little doubt but a night's rest would carry off every uneasy symptom. The event proved the contrary. In the morning, the symptoms of fever were increased, and though His Royal Highness lost one hundred and twenty ounces of blood* from the arms and by cupping, he died on

* Dr. Maton was summoned from London, unavailingly, in consultation. I well remember to have heard, at his house in Spring Gardens, that able physician, and accomplished man, talk over with my father the particulars of the Duke's case; and to have listened to Dr. Maton's bitter regret at its fatal issue. One of his remarks was, "Perhaps all was done that could be done. Indeed, *that* is the view which *must now be taken;* but if I had been in attendance on him in the early stage of his disorder, I think I should have bled him more freely. His stamina was so great, his constitution

Sunday forenoon. His Royal Highness was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and met it with pious resignation. He generously said he blamed himself for not yielding to the seasonable advice of Dr. Wilson in the first instance, by which the disease might, in an early stage, have been checked.

Another account says:—

"The death of His Royal Highness may be attributed to a neglected cold, caught from sitting in wet boots, after a walk in the environs of Sidmouth with Captain Conroy. In the morning of Thursday the 20th, His Royal Highness was reported to be in imminent danger; but towards the middle of the day he partly recovered, in consequence of a little refreshing sleep which he had been enabled to obtain. Towards evening, however, all the alarming symptoms returned again with increased vehemence, and

so unimpaired by excess, that he would have borne more depletion; at all events, I would have risked it. The result might have been the same; but I should have hazarded extreme depletion." He characterised the Duke as one of the noblest, most sincere, and *truthful* of human beings. He detailed to my father, at some length, the interview which he had had with the Regent at Carlton House, on his return from Sidmouth; when he gave him the particulars of his brother's illness. The Prince changed colour, and seemed much shocked; and when Dr. M. had finished his narrative, inquired in rather a faltering tone, "Whether his brother had sent him any message?" "None." A pause of some moments ensued; and then, with a few unmeaning phrases, the interview terminated.

continued so till towards Saturday morning, when a kindly remission of them took place. This, however, proved to be only that fatal relief which so commonly occurs before death ensues."

Upon the most momentous of all subjects, one who had ample means of judging, and who was about his person to the last, thus pointedly observes:—

"Nothing could be more exemplary than the religious bearing of my late dear master, the Duke of Kent. His Royal Highness was only aware of his state on Saturday the 22d. He executed his will towards night; and after that he took leave of his gentlemen; but, on our retiring, he sent for me to come back, and in much conversation with me on many subjects, he forgave as he hoped to be forgiven. It was the Duke's intention to have received the sacrament, but it was delayed to the following morning, which was too late. When I left his bedside, he had begun to doze and wander; and it was about two o'clock on the Sunday morning that he gave his dying injunctions to the Duchess, who for many days and nights never left him—never, in fact, till all was over."

Information of the deplorable event was brought to town on the morning of the 24th by General Moore, who arrived in London at half-past eight, and drove at once to Carlton House. That mansion was shortly after-

wards closed. General Moore then proceeded to York House and Clarence House, to communicate the event to the Dukes of York and Clarence; and soon afterwards proceeded to Windsor, on the same melancholy errand to the Princesses."

On Saturday, the 12th of February, the Duke's remains were committed to the tomb.

The body of His Royal Highness lay in state for a short time at Woolbrook Cottage, previous to its final removal from the scene, but a few days previously, of unalloyed domestic happiness. The lying in state took place in a spacious room, which was hung with black cloth, and lighted with thirty wax candles. The glare of day was altogether excluded. The coffin and urn were raised upon tressels, and covered with a rich velvet pall.

At the head of the coffin was a plume of feathers; right and left were large wax tapers, in solid silver candlesticks.

The concourse of persons who were admitted to the solemn spectacle, was immense for a country town. The company entered at one door, and having walked round the royal remains, made their egress by another. Every arrangement was governed by consummate order and regularity.

On Monday, the 7th, the procession towards Windsor commenced, attended by some thousand spectators.

Upon the arrival of the procession at Bridport, the remains of His Royal Highness were placed in the church under a military guard, during the night of Monday.

On the following morning, at ten o'clock, the procession moved in the same order, halting on Tuesday, the 8th, at Blandford; on Wednesday, the 9th, at Salisbury; and on Thursday, the 10th, at Basingstoke; the same arrangement being observed, for placing the remains of his late Royal Highness, each night, as at Bridport.

In every town through which the cavalcade passed, the utmost respect was evinced by the inhabitants: the shops were closed, the church bells tolled, and every possible respect was paid which the rank and virtues of the deceased demanded.

On Friday, the procession moved on in the same order to Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park, and arrived there at six o'clock in the evening.

On the procession reaching the lodge, the coffin was received at the principal entrance by Mr. Mash, attended by Colonel Stevenson. It was conveyed into one of the suite of rooms on the ground floor, immediately at the left of the hall.

The coffin was one of the largest which has been made for any of the royal family. It was 7 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; 2 feet 10 inches in breadth;

2 feet and 1 inch in depth; and weighed altogether upwards of a ton.

The inscription on the coffin ran thus:

DEPOSITUM
Illustrissimi Principis
EDUARDI DE BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURG,
Ducio Cantii et Stratherniæ, Comitis
Dublinæ,
Nobilissimi Ordinis Priscelidis,
Honoratissimi Ordinis Militaris de Balneo
et Illustrissimi Ordinis Sancti Patricii,
Equitis,
Filii Quartogeniti Augustissimi et Potentissimi
GEORGII TERTII,
Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Regis, Fidei
Defensoris.
Obiit
XXIII Die Januarii, Anno Domini
MDCCCXX.
Ætatis suæ
LIII.

The supporters of the pall and canopy bearers were all full generals, in their uniforms.

The Venerable Sir Isaac Heard proclaimed the style of his late Royal Highness.

After the funeral obsequies had been solemnized, his brothers, the royal Dukes, retired to the castle.

Under the will of the deceased—made on the evening prior to His Royal Highness's death—

Lieutenant-General Wetherall, comptroller of the Duke's household, and Captain Conroy, one of his equerries and his private secretary, were executors.

"I, Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, being of sound mind, do make my Will, in manner following: And first I do nominate, constitute, and appoint my beloved wife, Victoir, Duchess of Kent, to be sole guardian to our dear child, the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, to all intents, and for all purposes whatever; and under a confident hope that *my just claim on Government* WILL BE YET CONSIDERED, *for the purpose of liquidating my debts*, I give, devise, and bequeath unto Frederick Augustus Wetherall, Esq., Lieutenant-General in the army, all and every my real and personal estates of every sort and nature, whatever and wheresoever situate, upon trust, and for the entire use and benefit of my said beloved wife, and dear child, in such manner, on such occasions, and at such times, as my said dear wife shall direct. And I do vest the said Frederick Augustus Wetherall, and John Conroy, with all and every necessary power and authority, with the consent and approval of my said wife, to dispose of all and every, or any part of my said estate and effects, real and personal, for the purpose before mentioned. And I do hereby constitute and appoint the said Frederick Augustus Wetherall, and John Conroy,

executors in trust of this my last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have subscribed my name, and set my seal, the 22d day of January, 1820.

"EDWARD."

Consequent upon the event, were the following proceedings in the Legislature of the realm:—

HOUSE OF LORDS. *February* 18, 1820.

"On the motion of Lord *Liverpool*, an address of condolence to His Majesty on the death of the Duke of Kent, and a message of condolence to the Duchess of Kent, were agreed to. The noble Lord highly panegyrized the conduct of the Duchess.

"In these praises Lord *Rolle* sincerely concurred. So close, he said, was her attendance on the Duke in his last illness, that for five days she never had put off her clothes; but she had her reward in the look which her royal consort gave her before he expired,* and which proved his grateful sense of her conduct, and the consolation which it had afforded him."

HOUSE OF COMMONS. *February* 17, 1820.

"Lord *Castlereagh* moved an address of condolence to His Majesty on the death of the Duke of Kent,

* It has been confidently stated, and never contradicted, that the last words of the dying Prince to the Duchess were these—admirable for the feelings of faith and hope which they expressed —"Act uprightly, and TRUST IN GOD!"

which was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented in the same manner as the former. A resolution of condolence to the Duchess of Kent was also agreed to."

A contemporary by no means favourable to royalty thus summed up his character:—

"His person was tall and athletic; his appearance dignified; his understanding strong; his deportment affable, and his bravery chivalrous. The course which he pursued in politics, appears to have been almost invariably tolerant, liberal, and conciliatory. Towards the latter part of his life, he had become exceedingly popular, and his death was deeply regretted by the nation."

CHAPTER XXIV.

HIS CHARACTER—THE FOUNDER OF REGIMENTAL SCHOOLS—HIS KINDNESS TO THE OLD SOLDIER—PRINCE LEOPOLD—HIS SHORT BUT REMARKABLE SPEECH AT A PUBLIC MEETING—THE DUKE'S FORBEARANCE AS COLONEL OF THE REGIMENT—LETTER FROM REV. DR. RUDGE, THE DUKE'S DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN—THE DUKE AND THE YOUNG ENSIGN—HIS PAINFUL SUSCEPTIBILITY ON THE SUBJECT OF GIBRALTAR—THE BURIED QUEUE!—SCENE WITH THE DUKE—LETTER TO MR. AYTON—KIND FEELING TOWARDS THE PRESS, AND POLITICAL WRITERS—LETTER TO MR. CRAWFURD—LETTER TO DR. COLLYER—HIS HABITS—HIS PECULIARITIES—HIS PUNCTUALITY—CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

But this brief summary does him scanty justice. Let his career and character be analysed somewhat more in detail. And first, with reference to the charge so often brought against him of *cruelty*.

The assertion is not hazarded that he was a perfect character. Perfection describes nothing human. All, be their station what it may, bear the taint of Adam's transgression. But this may fearlessly be affirmed: the Duke's virtues were all his own. His faults were nurtured and ripened by early and pernicious habits. Subjected from his boyish days to the discipline of

a German adjutant, he became a soldier by choice, and a *martinet* by example. Accustomed to the most implicit obedience, he exacted it in return; and that too, with a degree of minuteness that rendered him personally unpopular with the troops. But no sooner did more mature years and greater observation of life fall to the lot of His Royal Highness, than with a magnanimity peculiar to a great and noble mind he ingenuously avowed the sole errors of his youth and education, by frankly acknowledging that the military punishments then in use, might be commuted for others less rigorous, and at the same time equally efficient. Accordingly he was, actually, THE FIRST to give a practical example, by substituting solitary confinement, which may in the end create a good soldier, for the lash, which is found, by experience, constantly to produce a bad one.

An ardent friend to education, his constant aim was to raise the character and elevate the habits of the soldier by educating him: and this fact is undeniable, that he was THE FIRST COMMANDER OF A REGIMENT who set the most commendable example of having a regimental school.

The ensuing documents and correspondence bear out this assertion.

"At a meeting held at the Freemasons' Tavern, May 11th, 1811, of the friends and subscribers of the

Royal Lancasterian System of Education of the Poor, the Duke of Bedford in the chair, the following among other resolutions were passed :—

"On the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, seconded by William Adam, Esq., M.P.,

"'Resolved, 3d, That it is with the most lively satisfaction this meeting contemplates the sanction and support which the Lancasterian System for the Education of the Poor has received from their Majesties, and every branch of the royal family; and His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent is most respectfully solicited to represent to the whole of the royal family the high sense which this meeting entertains of a patronage, no less important to the prosperity of the undertaking, than indicative of the affection of the House of Brunswick for the truest interests of the people.'

"On the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne, seconded by Lord Keith,

"'Resolved, 5th, That the respectful thanks of this meeting be presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, *whose friendship to soldiers' children has been shown in that princely liberality with which His Royal Highness has established a school in the Royals, as Colonel of that regiment,* AND SET AN EXAMPLE *which, it is hoped, will be universally followed by military commanders,* and thereby promote

the welfare and do honour to the character of the British army.

" 'That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, and the Officers of the 4th battalion of the Royals, for the zeal and benevolence with which they have superintended a Royal Lancasterian School in that regiment.

" 'That His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent be respectfully requested to communicate the same.'

" His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent *has set a most important example,* by introducing the Lancasterian system into the army, having attached a school to his own regiment. The school consists of the children of the privates, and amounts to 220. A young man, a sergeant in the regiment, was trained for the schoolmaster, at the Borough-road; and the school was instituted at Malden, in Essex, where the regiment was then quartered. Great credit is due to Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod and the other officers, who co-operated with their royal commander in his benevolent design. The regiment lately removed its quarters to Dunbar, where the establishment was carried on. Mr. Lancaster, on his journey to Scotland, found it in an excellent state of order. By permission of the Duke, a number of these boys went to Edinburgh, to illustrate the system in the lecture delivered there by Mr. Lancaster. The regiment is

now quartered at Stirling; and the school, at the request of the magistrates, is kept in the Guildhall of Stirling Castle; many of the town's children participating in its benefits. On joining the Duke of Kent's regiment, if a recruit is found incapable of reading, he is sent to the school; and, as a powerful stimulus to exertion, those who make a good proficiency in learning are put down as duplicate non-commissioned officers."

The point appeared to me so full of interest, as illustrating the character of the Duke, that I put myself in communication with Mr. Watson, the excellent chaplain of Stirling Castle; and by his kind courtesy procured the following particulars. The reader, if friendly to the education of the people, will not deem the accompanying letters undeserving of perusal.

"Bothwell, Aug. 22, 1849.

"SIR,

"To your letter of the 9th instant, I have much pleasure in replying.

"I would be truly glad if it were in my power to furnish every particular relative to the subject on which the letters of yourself and Mr. Neale treat.

"I joined at Maldon the 4th battalion of the

Royals; but it was at Dunbar that I first saw the Lancasterian system, which, prior to the battalion quitting England, had been the mode of instruction pursued in the regimental school, by authority of His Royal Highness, the ever-lamented Duke of Kent, *who was ever anxious to promote the good of the soldier.* While at Dunbar, I perfectly remember Mr. Lancaster coming there from London to examine the pupils as to their progress by his course of imparting knowledge, with which he was perfectly satisfied. And being desirous of conveying to the public the perfection of his system, he obtained permission, through the Duke of Kent, to take some of the young soldiers of the school with him to Edinburgh; where, in the theatre, they exhibited to the entire satisfaction of a numerous audience. The regimental school attained such high reputation, that there were some regiments that applied for, and each obtained, one of the most proficient of the scholars as teachers. The battalion was removed from Dunbar to Stirling Castle in 1811, where the system was rigidly carried on, and where, so far as my recollection goes, the children of many of the inhabitants were permitted to attend the regimental school gratuitously. And I am fully aware that a gold medal was presented to the schoolmaster, *by order of the lamented Duke of Kent,* bearing an inscrip-

tion expressive of His Royal Highness's approbation of his zeal and assiduity.

" I have the honour to be,

" Sir,

" Your obedient Servant,

" ROBERT MULLEN,

" *Late Lieut-Col. Royal Regt.*"

" *The Rev. Robert Watson,*
Stirling Castle."

" Stirling Castle, Sept. 11, 1849.

" REV. SIR,

" The letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Mullen I prefix. The 4th battalion of the Royals occupied this garrison in 1811. The name of the person who taught the military school at that time was Munns, if I am rightly informed. Besides the gold medal presented to him by the Duke's orders, he obtained, it is believed, a commission *through the same influence.* In an old almanac for 1814, I find G. F. Munns noticed as one of the four quarter-masters of the Royals. And I have very little doubt that he is the same person who taught the school.

" I regret that the person who had it in his power to furnish the best and fullest information died about a year ago. He was adjutant of the battalion at the time, and, I believe, took considerable interest in

the school. With Dr. Galliers, surgeon to the battalion when quartered here, I had some conversation regarding the contents of your letter; but he was able to supply me with very little information beyond what I already possessed. I may mention, however, that the lady of Dr. Galliers remembers being at an examination of the school when Mr. Lancaster himself was present. There was the strictest attention paid to regularity and order; and, as far as her recollection goes, Mr. Lancaster expressed himself highly pleased with the mode in which his system was pursued in the military school, and with the proficiency of the pupils. In those days persons were admitted into the army, and put upon the strength of regiments, at a much earlier period of life than at present. The Royals accordingly had a good many boys belonging to the corps. To these in particular the schoolmaster's attention was, I believe, principally directed. *So far as I have been able to ascertain,* UNTIL THE DUKE OF KENT SET THE EXAMPLE, *regimental schools were things quite unknown in the service!*

"I have the honour to be, Rev. Sir,

"Your most obedient

"And humble Servant,

"ROBERT WATSON,

"*Minister of Stirling.*

"*To Rev. Erskine Neale,*
Kirton Rectory."

As a *pendant* to the above, and before I quit the subject of education as connected with the Duke's name, I cannot resist adding the following incident.

The school which had been held in a barn for two years at Oxshot, a small hamlet on the Claremont estate, gained the attention and patronage of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, and on Wednesday, the 7th of June, 1821, the first stone of a new and spacious building was laid, which was called, by the express desire of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, "The Royal Kent School," as a remembrancer of the late Duke, who had, in his lifetime, greatly interested himself in this cause. The school was conducted on the British and Foreign plan, and on Sundays used as a place of worship. A vast concourse of people attended at the ceremony, and the royal arms were carried in procession, and have been since suspended in the barn.

On Monday, August 15, 1821, a meeting of the friends of education was held at Oxshot near Claremont, in the new school, the foundation of which was noticed in the preceding paragraph.

It was attended by the Duchess of Kent and Prince Leopold, the patroness and patron of the school, the latter of whom took the chair. At the conclusion of a very interesting address, Prince Leopold feelingly exclaimed, "Real piety is the only

support in adversity, which never fails: *I speak from sad experience*, and may say, that without the support of religion, I could never have borne up against the calamities with which it has pleased Providence to visit me."

An instance, among many, of the kind-heartedness of the deceased Prince, occurs in Dr. Collyer's Memoir. The Duke had been prevailed upon to solicit the discharge of a young man, who had rashly enlisted in the military service, almost at the expense of the life of his aged and afflicted parents: and having procured his dismissal from the army, he further undertook, without solicitation, to give it efficacy with the smallest delay, and at the least possible expense, at a time when the efficiency of the substitutes was previously subjected to trial.

He says, "Your esteemed favour of the 26th ult. having given me reason to expect that I should shortly again have the pleasure of hearing from you, I purposely delayed answering *that* until I should receive your second letter. *That* having now come to hand, under date of the 2d instant, I hasten to return you my best thanks for both. The information you have afforded me of the present station of ———, will immediately enable me to communicate the official sanction for his discharge, upon providing the substitutes required by the regulations of the services,

and I will take care that Major ——— is informed of my intention, that he should pass the substitutes at Tilbury, and detain them there for trial, by way of giving every facility to his friends to promote his release from the service, at *the least possible expense and inconvenience to him or to them.*"

" A young officer in his regiment had formed some associations by which he was seduced from a sense of duty, and certainly wrote to the Duke in a style of insolence, which few persons, not of the rank of His Royal Highness, would have forgiven; at the same time that he disobeyed the orders of his superior officers. To have reported him to the Commander-in-Chief would have ruined all his military prospects; not to notice his conduct must have been subversive of military subordination. The good prince could not consent to expose his officers to contempt of authority, and would not visit the transgressions of the offender upon his head. His object was, to endeavour to reclaim him from a course which threatened his future welfare; and although it was necessary to remove him from the regiment, to effect this in a way least injurious to his interests by recommending him to be placed upon half-pay. His Royal Highness could not himself appeal to the better feelings of this young man, but he did it through the medium of the friend who had just recommended him to notice. 'It is with real

concern,' he says, 'that I address myself to you to-day, as the object of this letter is to communicate to you the copy of one I have received from Mr. ——, the gentleman I recommended for a commission in —— at your request, which is of such a nature that were I to lay it before the Commander-in-Chief, it would be impossible for him to escape without being subject to the most ignominious dismissal from the service. My object, therefore, is through you to induce him to retract and apologize for this gross production, which is subversive of every rule of military subordination, and such as I could not be warranted in passing over, as the colonel of the regiment, but from the hope that this unfortunate young man may be brought to a sense of his error, and atone for it before it is too late.' After stating the particulars of misconduct, and the steps which he had taken, the Duke adds,—'In short, my whole wish has been to treat him with all possible kindness and indulgence on your account, and the return he has made me has been his writing me this letter, the copy of which I herewith enclose, and which I am sure you will admit, had I treated him knowingly with the grossest injustice, nothing could have justified. I am, however, still willing to save him, if possible, from ignominy, which must ensue if I once lay the subject before the Duke of York, which I must do unless he makes a suitable

apology, and entreats me to permit him to withdraw the letters, which, in that case, I will most willingly assent to.' In another letter on the same subject he says,—'Convey to him from me that the moment he is brought to a sense of his relative situation towards his superior officer, I am ready to forgive his conduct towards me.'

The proper submission was made, and accepted with generous pleasure by His Royal Highness:—'I am truly happy to find,' said this considerate commander, 'that Mr. —— has seen the propriety of following my advice with respect to retracting those further acts of which I could not possibly approve. I now only wait for a few lines from Colonel ——, which will be prepared in a day or two, to enable me to write in a more official shape to the military secretary of the Commander-in-Chief, so as to induce the Duke of York to remove from —— the stigma that was placed upon him when retiring to half-pay, and thereby enable him to pursue the active duties of his profession in some other corps.'"

By these firm, yet mild and conciliatory measures, in a case of most aggravating misconduct, did the Duke of Kent save from ruin, and preserve to the service, a high-spirited young officer, who was misled for a time, but thus recovered to his friends and to his country. Yet this was the man who was represented as a

martinet, a tyrant, an unfeeling disciplinarian, the scourge of the troops placed under his command! "O shame, where is thy blush?"

An officer of high rank writes me:—

"The Duke of Kent was the most accessible of human beings. An old sergeant; an old soldier, who had served under him; a broken down trooper, who had been discharged without a pension, and whom the world had used hardly, were sure of an audience if they presented themselves at Kensington Palace; and if in circumstances of difficulty, the Duke's earliest and best attention would be given to the particulars of their case. If redress was needed and could be got, nothing stopped the Duke in his pursuit of it! Time, trouble, letters to be written or read, personal applications, oral applications, nothing baulked him if a wrong was to be redressed, or a poor devil set on his legs. And observe, *he never broke faith.* What he promised he fulfilled. Name to me another prince of whom the same can be said!"

An officer of some standing in the army thus writes me relative to his former friend:—

"The solicitude of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent for my well-being was not confined to expressions used in the correspondence with Dr. Collyer. When His Royal Highness learnt that I was marching from Hythe, in Kent, to Portsmouth, to

embark for the Peninsula, he sent directions to an officer to provide a horse for me, and also caused to be sent from London for my use, such surveying instruments as I required as an officer of the Royal Staff corps. The case of mathematical instruments are yet very good, though I carried them all through the Peninsula from Lisbon to Bordeaux—since then to Canada, and back to England; then all round the world, and into the *five* grand divisions of it, and finally to India and back to England. Since my return I have had them put into thorough repair, and shall ever value them as the gift of my illustrious patron, a prince for whose memory I cherish no common regard; and I most sincerely wish that every success may attend your efforts to call attention to the life of struggle, and the many *as yet unappreciated* excellences, of His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent."

Dr. Rudge, to whom I am very deeply indebted for many and most valuable hints, thus expresses himself:—

"The Duke of Kent took a real delight in doing good. As I took the liberty of reproving him for the indiscriminate manner in which he often distributed his charities to the worthless and undeserving, he, for some years before his decease, requested me to examine every application he received, and referred to me all letters of the sort, and *in no instance did he ever fail to relieve the distressed*, if their characters

proved to be good. These investigations at the time gave me much trouble, and caused me much abuse from those of whom I could not present a favourable account. But this, of course, I little regarded .... In *spirit* and feeling, the Duke was one of the most benevolent of men. His desire to do good was unremitting. But in speaking or writing of him, you will bear in mind that he lived at a period in which A MARK was put upon any man, *however high or low his station*, who supported liberal institutions, and entertained charitable feelings towards others out of *the Established Church*. And it was quite sufficient, at the time to which I allude, for even a private clergyman to have the door of preferment closed upon him, if by a certain clique a suspicion was entertained, and a rumour was propagated touching his orthodoxy, which orthodoxy was made a matter of question if he lent the slightest support to a Bible society! The Duke once told me that on a visit to Windsor he met with the then Archbishop of Canterbury. The subject on the tapis,—the King was present,—was the Bible Society. The Archbishop said to the King, but meaning his remark for the Duke, 'He that is not with us is against us.' To which the Duke rejoined, 'Your Grace, there is another saying of our Lord, 'He that is not against us is on our side.' The prelate frowned, but made no reply."

A gentleman, formerly in the Royals, but now a member of a profession, for which, sacred as it is, his virtues, zeal, and earnestness eminently fit him, gave me this trait of his well-remembered commander:—

"Shortly after I was gazetted I went down to Castle Hill to see my Colonel. The invitation—perhaps I should say command—was for breakfast. The Duke came in from his morning stroll in the grounds, and the servant brought in the breakfast equipage. There was a good deal of state and ceremony in the arrangements; but at last he handed a large massive tea-caddy to the Duke, who, to my astonishment, had the key, and proceeded very gravely to unlock it. I suppose—griffin as I was—that surprise was visible in my tell-tale face, for the Duke said,—

"'Take a lesson from me—you are just starting in life—never be above attending to particulars, lay, and minute particulars. Many a man has had reason to rue his deeming himself so circumstanced as to be above giving attention to trifles. What is a trifle? Nothing that has reference to our comfort, our independence, or our peace.'

"The breakfast hour sped away rapidly enough. The Duke gave me some very useful hints on military matters, and much valuable information. When I took leave of him, he said, with the most winning kindness of voice and manner, '*Regard your Colonel as your*

FRIEND. If you get into any scrape or difficulty, if any unforeseen or awkward contingency arises, come to me at once. Tell me all—be frank—have no reserves: and if there be nothing dishonourable to you as a soldier, be the scrape what it may, *I'll get you out of it.*' " . . . . .

" His (the Duke's) acquaintance with details was," added my friend, " quite marvellous. He knew everything that was passing in his regiment, and everybody, from the drum-boy to the lieutenant-colonel!"

Another most popular personage, who had formerly served in the Royals, and has now attained high rank richly merited by dauntless bravery, thus alluded to his former chief. It is proper that I should previously state, by way of explanation, that *Sir Harry Fearnought** was formerly a midshipman on board H.M.S. *Active*. That ship lay in the bay of Gibraltar at the time of the mutiny, and was the bark on board of which the rebels intended to place the Duke, had they succeeded in their attempt to seize his person and eject him from the Rock. Disliking the service, or finding his chance of promotion in it visionary, the young midshipman quitted the navy for the army. His name was put down for a commission. It came: he was gazetted to the Royals. On this, as a matter

* I need hardly say, that this is a *nom de guerre*.

of course, he went down to Kensington to pay his personal respects to his Colonel—the Duke.

His own words must now be given.

"The Duke received me very coldly: and after the interchange of a few common-place phrases—his part of the dialogue being performed, by the way, with remarkable *hauteur*—he drew himself up to his full height, and said, 'Mr. ———, it is proper you should be told, at once, and from myself, that you are put into my regiment against my wishes. I applied at the Horse Guards for another individual, in whose favour I was and am deeply interested; but the authorities there have thought fit to disregard my application, and have sent you here against my will and desire. I repeat, you enter my regiment, Sir, not *with* my consent, but *against* it.' I immediately replied, 'I am extremely sorry to hear from your Royal Highness that such is the case. I learn it now for the first time. It is a matter most abhorrent to my wishes to do anything that is displeasing or disagreeable to you. I can now fully understand that my joining the Royals would be both. It would also be most disagreeable to myself. The very idea is hateful to me of forcing myself into a regiment, or joining it, in defiance of the Colonel. If, therefore, any alternative can be pointed out, or any course suggested for my exchange into *another regiment*,

I am quite ready to adopt it. Your Royal Highness has only to indicate what steps you wish to be pursued.'

" ' That fixes you, Sir, in *mine!* You have spoken frankly and without flattery, like a soldier and a man of honour. I advert to this subject no more. Now tell me where you have been and what you have done.'

" ' I have been in the navy.'

" ' On board what ship?'

" ' The *Active.*'

He started. The name struck him at once.

" ' About what period?' was his next question; and he waited, with evident eagerness, for my reply.

" ' The year 1802 and 1803.'

" ' Ah! Were you—in her—off Gibraltar at that time, when that most unfortunate affair of the mutiny occurred?'

" ' I was.'

" ' And did you happen to hear that——' "

" Some strong remarks followed, which it may be as well not to repeat, as they impugned the loyalty and good faith of other parties, and were evidently wrung from him in the bitterness of his recollections. I refer to it principally, to show how the mere mention of Gibraltar in after years affected him! . . . . . .

"Time rolled on. I wish the old boy's wings could be clipped! They bear away one's friends, one's comrades, one's hopes, one's youth so rapidly! . . . . We lay off Chelmsford. It was the year 1809. We were about proceeding on foreign service. Orders came down from the Horse Guards: the men were allowed to cut off their queues or retain them, as they pleased. Some did: and some did not. My resolution was soon taken. I cut off mine: placed it in a coffin; had a pall put upon it; fired a salute of twenty-one guns over it; and buried it. It was a madcap freak; but I was wild with joy at getting rid of this hateful appendage. I had my fling: and the prank was forgotten. Some ten days afterwards I saw the Duke. He received me with astounding austerity. He looked not blue, but actually black with indignation. After some monosyllabic answers to my very deferential inquiries—he burst forth, 'I could not have believed it, Sir, that you would have striven to bring the regulations of the army into disrepute. I entertained a higher opinion of you. I fancied that *you*, at least, saw the necessity, the absolute and paramount necessity of adhering to points of discipline, and minutiæ in dress and equipments. I flattered myself YOU would be the last man to descend to the use of the vulgar weapon, ridicule, where matters relating to the service were concerned. I see

my error. I had estimated your soldierly feelings too highly.'

"'May I presume to inquire of your Royal Highness what is my offence?'

"'You buried your queue, Sir—buried it with military honours:' said the Duke, with portentous gravity.

"I thought I should have roared," said Sir Harry, "when this forgotten *escapade* was thus solemnly brought to my recollection.

"The Duke continued,

"'It had a coffin—and a pall—and a salute of twenty-one guns—and I know not what distinctions beside:—all, of course, by way of mockery and bravado!'

"And my illustrious Colonel's countenance was crimson up to the very temples, in his wrath at my profaneness.

"'Do you deny this?'

"'By no means. It is perfectly true. I did all your Royal Highness relates. But may not my conduct admit of another interpretation? Might not these distinctive honours be regarded as proofs of attachment to my queue—as marks of respect for an appendage which had belonged to me for so many years, and which was so essentially military? I submit that no ex-parte view should be taken of my proceeding.'

"The Duke smiled. Whether he saw through my *ruse* I know not. I suspect he did, for he was not easily deceived. But he feigned an air of conviction; and we parted on cordial terms.

"Now I give you these two anecdotes," said Sir Harry, "because, to my mind, they convey no dim idea of the man. You may gather from them his kindness of heart; the manner in which his reasonable requirements were *systematically* thwarted at the Horse Guards; and the importance which he attached to military minutiæ. And then I must add, that a more thorough soldier—a more princely-minded man, never gave the word of command!"

The following letters are curious. The first is interesting only from its allusion to Louis Philippe. The next, from the insight it gives into the Duke's views of the press. And the last as indicative—though it were needless—of his untiring humanity, and prompt compassion for the unfortunate.

"Kensington Palace, Sept. 15, 1807.

"DEAR AYTON,

"In answer to Mr. Padley's letter to you, I must beg of you to assure him that I should be miserable to think that he did not enjoy under my rangership, *to the full*, every indulgence which his pre-

decessor had during that of my deceased uncle; and pray, forthwith order the half buck to be delivered to him, and the same continued annually. I hope your excellent mother has had hers; for if she has not, I shall be very angry with you; and that my old friend Mrs. Tunstall, as well as Messrs. Brown and Yenn, have been supplied with the same, at such time as was most acceptable to them.

"In regard to the papering, I have this day caused inquiry to be made at the Chamberlain's Office, relative to a precedent for its being done under that department; and if so, of course I shall get it done by their tradesmen; but if that should not be the case, then the Duke of Orleans* will do it at his own expense, and employ the same upholsterer (Mr. Gillois), who is to furnish for him, to do that also, for we have both seen enough of Mr. White to wish to have nothing to do with him but as a tradesman working under estimate from the Board of Works.

"I am,

"With friendly regard and sincere esteem,

"Dear Ayton,

"Ever yours faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"*To William Ayton, Esq.*"

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* Louis Philippe.

"P.S.—I shall henceforward, for the rest of the season, wish to receive a half buck weekly, by Geymer, on the Friday, but killed on the Wednesday."

"SIR, "Kensington Palace, May 2, 1815.

"I have had under my careful consideration the various particulars you have stated in your letter bearing date the 28th ultimo. I have no recollection of any officer of the name of Layson having served under me in the campaign in the West Indies; and my memory so rarely fails me as to names, that I feel tolerably certain no officer, so designated, was there; so that I presume some mistake has arisen as to the period or place of service; but that does not diminish my feelings of regret for the sufferings of Captain Layson's worthy son, or do away with my desire to contribute to his relief.

"I have, for some years past,* entertained a strong

* The Duke had been a warm and steady friend for years to the Literary Fund.

"*Thursday, May* 4, 1815.—This day the Anniversary of the Literary Fund was celebrated at the Freemasons' Tavern, the Duke of Kent in the chair. After dinner, His Royal Highness addressed the company, dwelling with much eloquence on the plan and object of the Institution, and on the benefits of literature to the community."

* * * * *

In Fitzgerald's Ode, recited May 4, 1820, the lines occur :—

"What awful scenes are passing every hour,
To show the gossamer of rank and power!

The PRINCE

conviction that the country does not treat with sufficient consideration the services of her literary men, more particularly those who cater for the public press, and who are often men of very considerable intelligence and ability. England, who has Chelsea and Greenwich for her decayed soldiers and sailors, might with propriety provide some peaceful asylum for the aged and worn-out writer, when the power to think and the ability to record fail (as they must inevitably do) eventually, from the pressure of years and unremitting exertion.

"I have, therefore, great pleasure in enclosing ten pounds, which I beg you will devote to Mr. Layson's present exigencies. I only regret that my means of serving him are so limited, and that the remittance is not more commensurate with his misfortunes and deserts.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours very faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"*Mr. Philip Crawfurd,*
Battersea."

The PRINCE who, once, so ably fill'd that chair,
*And who, this day, had promised to be there;**
Fram'd in a mould to look for length of days,
Sunk in the grave—our sorrow, and our praise!"

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* The late Duke of Kent had promised to attend the Anniversary of the Literary Fund, in 1820, the year in which he died.

"MY DEAR DOCTOR,

"The instant I received your letter of Sunday evening, upon the case of the unfortunate ——, now under sentence of death, at Newgate, I lost no time in taking that step which I conceived to be most efficacious to obtain either his pardon or a commutation of his sentence, viz. that of placing your most interesting relation, and its accompanying enclosure, in the hands of the Earl of Moira, who holds the first place in the Prince's confidence, and will, I am sure, most warmly second our wishes of saving this unfortunate young man, by representing his case to my brother in the most favourable light. With such an advocate for our cause, I own I feel sanguine of success; and it will be one of the happiest days of my life if I am enabled to communicate to you and your respectable friend the result of the step I have taken being favourable; as, from the moment I first heard of ——'s misfortune, my heart felt warmly interested for him. I am happy in this, as in every opportunity, of repeating the sentiments of friendly regard and sincere esteem, with which

"I ever am, my dear Doctor,

"Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD.

"*Dr. Collyer.*"

The application was successful.

The Duke was abstemious, perhaps even to a fault; and all his habits of life were uniform and unvarying. Like his royal father, he was an early riser; and to attain this object, he kept a man-servant to light his fire in winter, who never went to bed but in the day-time, that he might be enabled to fulfil his office with punctuality and despatch. Precisely at six o'clock, a cup of coffee was brought to His Royal Highness by one domestic, and the tray removed by another soon after. In the course of the morning, all the chief servants made their appearance in turn; and a bill of the expenditure of the former day was always brought in by the house-steward, with a minuteness scarcely possible to be conceived.

Among the peculiarities of the Duke of Kent, are to be enumerated his bells for the purpose of preserving order and regularity. Five separate pulls, with gilt handles, were conspicuously placed in a small alcove in the parlour, next Kensington-gardens, for the purpose of summoning an equal number of domestics.

The palace at Kensington abounded with musical clocks. Two of these that chimed every quarter of an hour, although not attended to by the royal owner, were particularly annoying to strangers, as they interrupted the conversation, and seemed to preclude the possibility of being listened to.

One quality for which he was distinguished in all his habits, public and private, was *punctuality*. All letters, even such as were anonymous, if any place was specified whither a reply might be sent, received immediate notice, and were answered to the full detail of their contents. The consequence was, that the correspondence of the Duke was most voluminous. He never suffered any letter to go out in his name, which he did not himself dictate or write, for subsequent transcription and his own signature. As all his letters were put into his own hand, without any intermediate examination, they all received his own definitive answer, and in his own language. To meet these contingent claims, in addition to those of his stated engagements, military, public, and private, he was obliged to husband well his time; and every part of the day was so arranged that it could not brook interruption; for the whole was filled, from the beginning to the close of it. He was, therefore, and necessarily, most punctual in all his appointments.

To be a quarter of an hour too late was to risk not seeing him at all, and certainly to abridge the interview to that extent. "I thought I should not have had the pleasure of seeing you to-day," said he, on one occasion, turning to the clock which stood in his closet, and the index of which pointed out that ten minutes had elapsed beyond the stipulated hour. A

servant entered, announcing that certain individuals were then in waiting; "I cannot see them to-day," was his reply: "I named nine o'clock, and it is now ten minutes past ten: my appointments are filled up for the day; to-morrow I will see them at one o'clock *precisely*." In all this there was no affectation. It was a habit formed in his childhood, by the precepts, and upon the example of his royal father; cultivated by the military discipline, to which it is essential; confirmed by the extent and variety of his occupations, and maintained upon the conviction of its propriety in itself and its great importance to society. By adhering invariably to order, and inflexibly to this punctuality, together with unwearied application, and early rising, it is incredible how much he was capable of effecting, and did actually accomplish.

My grateful task is done: and my feeble portrait of a patriot Prince completed. Of how few can it be said, that their own bitter personal sorrows but deepened and strengthened their desire to serve and succour their fellow-creatures!

He passed away from power "with a temper not soured, with a heart not hardened, with simple tastes, with frank manners, and with a capacity for friendship. No stain of treachery, of ingratitude, or of cruelty rests upon his memory."

But does the influence of the righteous terminate with their own earthly existence? *Does it call down no blessing* UPON THEIR CHILDREN? Do trials submissively borne—and injuries thoroughly forgiven—does untiring benevolence and a ceaseless struggle to do good—do plans which have for their object the instruction of the ignorant, and the prevention of crime, and the circulation of the Scriptures—arrest but momentarily the smile of the Great Spirit above, and leave no permanent impression of his favour with the survivors?

Scripture negatives such conclusion. "The curse of the Lord is on the house of the wicked: but *he blesseth the habitation of the righteous.*" "The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him: and his righteousness is upon children's children."

ILLUSTRATIONS.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.

As might naturally be expected, the sincerely deplored death of the Duke was a signal to the various Societies which he had encouraged and befriended, to offer their heartfelt testimony to his worth. From a mass of these honest but painful tributes the following are selected. Preference is assigned them mainly from their conveying the sentiments of two valuable and influential Associations, in whose success the Duke, during his life-time, had taken marked and special interest.

At the Fifteenth Anniversary Meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, held in Freemasons' Hall on Saturday, 10th of June, the following extract was read from a letter written by His Grace the Duke of Bedford :—

" When I reflected on the great loss the Society had sustained by the death of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; when I considered the ardent zeal and unwearied labours which I had so often witnessed in His

Royal Highness, to give permanency and stability to the interests of this excellent Institution, I felt conscious that it was the bounden duty of every well-wisher to the Society to redouble his efforts, and endeavour, as far as he was able, to supply the loss occasioned by the premature death of this lamented and illustrious personage."

"It was moved by the Rev. John Hooper, seconded by the Marquis Pucci, from Florence, and resolved unanimously,

"That this Meeting, while it most deeply deplores the loss which the Society has sustained by the decease of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, the zealous patron and warm advocate of this Society to the latest period of his life, ...

"In His Royal Highness the late Duke of Kent, the British and Foreign School Society, and indeed the cause of education, has lost not only a warm patron, but an active and indefatigable labourer, an eloquent advocate, and, where it was necessary, an undaunted champion. It was ever near his heart, and its calls and claims with him were never out of season nor too often repeated. His advice, his aid, his correspondence were never refused, where it appeared to him that the dissemination of light and truth could be promoted, whether at home or abroad. Still, in some of the last days previous to his fatal illness, his benevolent mind was engaged in devising the means of ensuring success to schools; and his active aid was given to the Society for that purpose. His memory will live in our grateful hearts; our schools, and many schools in foreign and distant countries, will be the monuments of his phi-

lanthropic zeal; and our firmness and ardour in the pursuit of the object in which His Royal Highness has so long and so powerfully assisted us, shall be the living witnesses of our gratitude."—Report of the British and Foreign School Society for 1820.

"Your Committee, as well as the inhabitants of the Netherlands, will ever have reason most gratefully to remember and to acknowledge the truly philanthropic anxiety which the late Duke of Kent showed, and the zeal which he evinced in promoting the Central School at Brussels. That zeal had no small share in the success of the undertaking. Belgium possesses now four Societies for mutual instruction, at Brussels, Liege, Luxembourg, and Huy."—*Ibid.*

From the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

May 3*d*, 1820.

His Lordship, the President, addressed the Meeting as follows:—

"In opening the business of the Meeting, I shall trespass as briefly as possible on your time and attention. But I should not do justice to my own feelings, nor probably satisfy your expectations, if I were to omit offering a tribute of respect to the memory of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent; a tribute most especially due to him from the members of a Society, the prosperity of which he so anxiously endeavoured to promote. We have had the gratification to witness the exertions of His Royal High-

ness in this place; and I could with pleasure refer to numerous instances of his condescension in attending the meetings of Auxiliary Bible Societies. On these occasions the dignified affability of his demeanour was not less conspicuous and endearing, than his zeal for the success of the Institution which he so publicly patronised. It has now lost the benefit of his services; but the remembrance of those which he rendered to it will long be retained with heartfelt gratitude, and with the deepest regret for that calamitous event which has deprived the Society of the continuance of them. I had the honour to communicate to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent a resolution in accordance with these sentiments, which she was pleased graciously to receive, and at the same time to express the interest which she felt in the prosperity of our Institution."

B.

THE CASE OF THE FIVE YOUNGER ROYAL DUKES BRIEFLY STATED.

THE precise situation of the junior male branches of the royal family has, hitherto, either been wholly concealed from, or imperfectly disclosed to the public. In consequence of this a certain degree of ambiguity is attached to their characters; and everything relating to their debts, encumbrances, and expenses, has been grossly misunderstood, magnified, and perverted. Accordingly, without experiencing any sympathy on the part of a generous nation, and with scarcely a murmur on their own, they have long been consigned to obscurity, and almost to oblivion. Although reduced to a state painful in the extreme to princes of the blood,—but little creditable to a high-minded people,—and, if not tending to shake the security, yet contributing, in no small degree, to diminish the lustre of the throne itself,—their Royal Highnesses, with an exemplary forbearance, have hitherto declined all public justification. Their situation is indeed delicate, in every point of view; a variety of feelings are to be combated, and it is difficult to defend even the best cause, without assuming the odious character of an accuser. But there are certain conditions in which acquiescence becomes culpable: for a servile and long-continued submission exhibits all the appearance of guilt, and seems to invite, if not to justify oppression. It may,

therefore, at length be permitted at least to complain. Yet, even then, while their high rank forbids vulgar recrimination, their affinity, as well as affection, preclude the most distant censure relative to either of their royal parents, who not only possess, but merit all their love, respect, and esteem.

It is not here meant to insinuate that this portion of the royal family has been wholly exempt from the frailties incident to humanity.

For the early errors of the children of our nobility and opulent commoners, we readily find an apology, in extreme youth or a too ardent temperament: and are those born under the canopy of a throne to be alone condemned by vindictive rules and unrelenting maxims? The philosophers of all ages tell us, and daily experience confirms the truth of their assertions, that such an exalted rank is far more liable to snares, temptations, and impositions of all kinds, than a humbler condition.

It has proved a great misfortune, and seems almost peculiar to the situation of four, out of five, of these princes, that no regular *outfit* was ever provided for them on entering the world. While their scanty revenues were burdened with a large and expensive household; plate, horses, and carriages were either wholly forgotten, or left to be purchased out of an incompetent annual income. This original omission necessarily led to engagements, onerous in the extreme, and became the cause of a variety of future embarrassments. Such a fatal error has been recently alluded to, and very properly obviated, in the case of their august niece.

Another circumstance, also pregnant with much mischief, sprung from a different source. While their exalted rank imposed many obligations, and produced a variety of expenses early in life, the age of manhood was in some cases unaccountably protracted long beyond the usual bounds prescribed either by law or custom. Thus, although the Duke of York received a provision soon after his majority, yet the Duke of Clarence had attained his twenty-fourth year before he procured a parliamentary grant by way of *appanage;* the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge obtained theirs only at twenty-eight; the Duke of Sussex was allowed to reach the age of twenty-nine before he was provided for in a similar way; while the Duke of Kent, by a strange and unaccountable neglect on the part of His Majesty's Ministers, was allowed to languish until the completion of his thirty-second year, without participating in the advantages conferred on his brothers.

Such a gross act of injustice inevitably led to anticipations; and the result of these, ever more ruinous to princes than to private individuals, is but too obvious. Hence, also, another prolific source of future embarrassments.

The allowance of 12,000*l. per annum,* first granted in 1789, and accompanied as it was, in the case of the Duke of Clarence, then resident at St. James's, with an unlimited table for His Royal Highness and household, in addition to apartments, lighted and warmed under the management of the Board of Green Cloth, and furnished and kept in repair by the Lord Chamberlain's office, was the model assigned for all the junior princes. Even this, however,

was at length deemed inadequate to the rank, dignity, and requisite grandeur of the illustrious persons in question.

Accordingly, in 1805, a negotiation was entered into, by one of the royal Dukes, on the part of his brothers, and the Right Honourable William Pitt on the side of Government.

On this occasion, the Premier solemnly pledged himself that, in addition to the private and exclusive claims of the Duke, the incomes of the junior branches should be augmented from 12,000*l.* to 16,000*l.*, *clear of all deductions whatsoever*. He also stipulated the additional specific sum of 5,000*l.* *per annum*, being the exact medium between the calculation expressly made by the Board of Green Cloth on one hand, and an indifferent person on the other, should be allowed instead of a table; but that coals, candles, together with furniture, fixtures, and the necessary reparation of the same, should be continued as before.

To this agreement, two gentlemen of the first respectability, one of whom occupies the high and dignified station of a judge, were privy. The sudden illness, followed soon after by the demise, of Mr. Pitt, alone prevented it from being carried into immediate execution.

Instead of realizing these hopes, however, in 1806, the parliamentary provision of their Royal Highnesses was fixed at precisely 18,000*l.* It is evident, then, that the exalted persons in question were not in the least benefited by this new settlement. On the contrary, being now deprived both of a table, and 5,000*l.* *per annum*, as heretofore promised for the loss of one, together with a variety

of other advantages, they became sufferers by this arrangement to the amount of more than 6,500*l.* a-year. In addition, also, to the loss resulting from this violation of a solemn agreement, their Royal Highnesses were subject to fresh difficulties from the circumstances of the times. The sudden depreciation of the currency, of course, affected incomes that were fixed by law, to a degree scarcely conceivable; and for which, indeed, an ample indemnification was granted to many persons of inferior dignity in the State.

Nor was this new parliamentary provision, like the former one,* exempt from taxes, according to the terms both of the first settlement, and the subsequent agreement on the part of Mr. Pitt; for, either by a clerical error, or a culpable omission in the bills for imposing the income and property tax, the revenues of their Royal Highnesses were, for many years, subject to a reduction of ten *per centum*, amounting to a contribution of 1,800*l.* a-year; thus making the *nominal* exceed the *real* income, by reducing the allowance of 18,000*l.* to 16,200*l.*, and constituting a very large and serious defalcation.

It almost detracts from the dignity of complaint, on the part of such distinguished personages, to enter into minute details; but on a subject of finance, the most trifling item ought not to be omitted. From the above statement it will be perceived, that the five younger brothers of the royal family, instead of being more favoured as they advanced in years, have experienced a marked and progressive deterioration in their respective conditions ever since

* See 39 Geo. III. cap. xxix. and all the other Acts passed for a similar purpose.

the year 1789, when the eldest of them (the Duke of Clarence) first obtained a parliamentary establishment. But in 1807, they were condemned to a variety of petty vexations, in consequence of the supplies of furniture being cut off by a Treasury minute; while, in conformity to a new regulation of the Office of Works in 1715, it was determined that nothing was to be done to the royal palaces in the occupation of the *younger branches*, but what the safety of the buildings absolutely required; leaving the wear and tear of fixtures, furniture, and decorations, to be supplied by themselves. The windows were to be mended, and bells hung or repaired, by the tradesmen of the household, indeed, but at their own sole expense. It is thus evident, that the various encumbrances to which their Royal Highnesses are now subject, chiefly originate in three insurmountable causes, over which they have not, and never could possibly have, any control whatever:—

1. The protraction of their respective parliamentary establishments long beyond the age of manhood.

2. The want of an original *outfit*, on at length obtaining a settlement, burdened as it was with a numerous and expensive household.

3. The violation of a solemn engagement, by the grant of an advanced nominal income, tending to throw an odium on the characters and conduct of their Royal Highnesses; whereas, in fact, they were still more incapacitated from honourably fulfilling their respective engagements, by an actual diminution, arising from a deduction of ten *per cent.*, together with the loss of a table, coals, candles, &c. And,

4. A variety of little, mean, and paltry regulations on

the part of certain public boards, have contributed not a little to superadd mortification to injustice.

From an enumeration of the above facts it is now evident that the case of the five junior male branches of the royal family demands immediate consideration. The reimbursement of the contributions raised upon them, in express violation of the original agreement, under the income and property-tax acts, together with a very moderate indemnification for their other losses and deprivations, would instantly enable the royal Dukes to liquidate all just demands by means of trustees expressly nominated for this purpose, and assume their due rank and importance in the State. In such a case it is a pleasing reflection, that the sum total might be levied from a fund that would not add an unit to the public debt, or withdraw one single shilling from the annual supplies.

Supplementary Case of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.

From the preceding statement it has been seen how far, and to what amount, His Royal Highness has suffered in common with his four brothers, from the want of an original outfit; the breach of a solemn engagement; the substitution of a nominal for a real income; and, above all, by the additional hardship of permitting eleven whole years to elapse, after attaining his majority, before a parliamentary provision was obtained for this prince. But a short historical detail will convey the best idea of the sufferings, and exhibit the most becoming apology for the difficulties and embarrassments of their Majesties' fourth son.

The Duke of Kent, under the title of Prince Edward, left England in 1785, and resided, successively, both at Lunenburgh and Hanover, until the end of the year 1787. During this period he was lodged in one of the palaces, and both table and equipage were furnished from the electoral establishment. The sole pecuniary allowance issued on this occasion was the sum of 1,000*l. per annum*, of which *his governor had the entire control and disposal*, with an exception of two pistoles a-week allowed for the pocket-money of a young man of high rank and spirit, between the age of eighteen and twenty. His Royal Highness next removed to Geneva, in obedience to His Majesty's command, where he remained some months, after attaining the period of manhood, without any increase of allowance. The consequence is sufficiently obvious. Incapacitated from enjoying those indulgences which not only princes but private gentlemen expect at a certain age, he incurred debts and borrowed money to procure them.

At the beginning of 1790 Prince Edward returned to England; and, after passing only ten days at home, repaired at the short notice of forty-eight hours to Gibraltar. Here, though destitute of pecuniary resources, he was obliged to provide an establishment, and everything incident to house-keeping, at an enormous expense. It was not, indeed, until the middle of 1791, when orders arrived for his departure for Canada, that he discovered his annual allowance to amount only to the sum of 5,000*l.*; being considerably less than what had been granted to his governor at Geneva.

Here, again, the fatal effects of a scanty provision were

too evident: a considerable debt for the Gibraltar outfit had been unavoidably incurred, as it would have been impossible for the most rigorous economy either to have advanced the necessary expenses, in the first instance, or liquidated the encumbrance afterwards, out of the current income. So sensible, indeed, was the King of this circumstance, that His Majesty was most graciously pleased to promise reimbursement.

On arriving at Quebec, His Royal Highness had accordingly to provide a new establishment; and this, like the former, was effected on credit, no allowance whatsoever having been made for either.

In 1793, this Prince, in consequence of instructions from England, prepared to embark for the West Indies; and, on leaving the capital of Canada, a sale necessarily took place, the *proceeds* of which were chiefly applied to provide for the more urgent demands incident to a third equipment.

Here it may be necessary to observe, that Prince Edward, anxious to give all possible satisfaction to his English creditors, had already granted bonds for about 20,000*l.* payable at the expiration of seven years; long before which period he, of course, expected a parliamentary provision. The interest of this sum produced a diminution of exactly one-fifth part of his scanty income.

In travelling through the United States with a suite suitable to his rank, a very considerable expense was of course incurred; while every one acquainted with the West Indies must know, that the necessaries of life are enhanced to an enormous extent.

At the close of the campaign of 1794, His Royal Highness, in obedience to His Majesty's commands, returned to

North America, highly flattered, indeed, with the official encomiums on his valour and good conduct, but encumbered with those fresh debts and engagements which are ever incident to sudden changes, long journeys, and expensive preparations.

Being now placed on the *staff*, a fourth outfit, for which, like the three preceding ones, no compensation was ever received, became necessary at Halifax. Here he remained, first with the rank of Major-general, until His Royal Highness obtained that of Lieutenant-general; but there being no issue of *bat* and *forage* money as of late, His Royal Highness never enjoyed any other allowance than that of 5,000*l.* first granted in 1790; and as 1,000*l.* of this was regularly disbursed in interest, his expenses of course during every succeeding year exceeded his income.

In 1798, this Prince returned to England in consequence of an accident, proceeding from his horse falling under him. On that occasion, the creditors of His Royal Highness were induced, perhaps by the punctuality with which the interest had hitherto been discharged, and the knowledge of his utter inability to liquidate the bonds granted in 1791, to consent to their renewal for seven years more. In the mean time, however, in addition to this old debt, a much larger new one had been also unavoidably contracted, from the various concurring causes already specified.

At length, in 1799, Prince Edward obtained his Dukedom, with a parliamentary provision of 12,000*l.*; but, by this time, he had nearly reached his thirty-second year, as has been already stated. And here, without making any invidious comparison, the singular hardship of his situation may be easily appreciated, from the consideration

that his two elder brothers, the Dukes of York and Clarence, had been favoured with a similar allowance soon after obtaining their majority, and that a similar sum was granted to the Duke of Cumberland, his junior by four years, on the very same day with himself.

About a month after this, the Duke of Kent was promoted a General, and nominated Commander-in-Chief in North America. His new equipment was, of course, on a scale commensurate with his rank; and, on this occasion, the sum of 2,000*l.* was advanced by Government. His Royal Highness had now a fair prospect of being enabled to pay off all encumbrances, by a gradual liquidation of his debts; but here, again, he was assailed by fresh misfortunes, and doomed to experience new embarrassments. The transport, which contained the whole of his baggage, goods, and equipage of every kind and description, was ready to sail in July, but being detained by embargo, in consequence of the Helder expedition, until the stormy month of October, was wrecked on the American coast, without the possibility of saving anything.

It may be here proper to state a series of accidents, unexampled, perhaps, in history, which occurred during the military career of His Royal Highness.

1st. His equipment was lost in Lake Champlain.

2d. His baggage again lost by the capture of the *Antelope* packet.

3d. Lost a third time, by the capture of the *Tankerville* packet.

4th. Lost a fourth time, by the capture of the *Recovery* transport.

And 5th. Lost once more, first by the temporary capture, and finally by the plunder of the *Diamond*.

On learning this melancholy intelligence, occasioned by no neglect either of himself or his agents, but by the mere act of Government for the advantage of the public service, His Royal Highness was soon taught to feel that he had experienced an injury to the amount of full 16,000*l*. Partly on this account, therefore, and partly in consequence of a declining state of health, the Duke of Kent was induced to apply for leave of absence, in order to solicit remuneration for this as well as his former losses. Having accordingly arrived in England, in the autumn of 1800, through the kind intervention of the Prince of Wales with the Earl of Rosslyn, then Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Kent's various claims were brought under the consideration of Mr. Pitt, from whom he received the fullest assurance, " not only that they should be made good, but also that due consideration should be had to the circumstance of having received his parliamentary establishment so much later in life than any of his brothers; and that if he were not placed on an exact footing with the Duke of Clarence, which would have produced an arrear of eight years, he should enjoy the same advantage as the Duke of Cumberland, which must ensure an arrear of four."

This pledge held out a speedy prospect of paying off his debts; but the cup of hope was once more dashed from the lips of His Royal Highness, in consequence of a change of administration, subsequently to the happy event of His Majesty's recovery.

On being nominated to the Government of Gibraltar, the

Duke of Kent applied for *equipage money*, or an *outfit*, as it is generally called; but he was told, in reply, that this would be unnecessary, on account of the "lucrative nature of the appointments." He obtained 2,000*l.*, however, from the Treasury, in part payment of his other claims; which, together with a similar sum received in 1809, will not liquidate even the interest of those debts incurred by losses in the service of the public, which His Royal Highness continued to pay till his death.

On his arrival at the place of destination, in the spring of 1802, the new Governor found the garrison in the precise state he was taught to expect, from prior communications with Lord Sidmouth, then at the head of His Majesty's councils. Blind to his own immediate interests, and alive only to a sense of duty, His Royal Highness instantly determined to cut off the root of all military irregularities, which had long approximated to the very verge of mutiny, by reducing the number of wine-houses: although the opening and encouragement of these had proved a fruitful source of emolument to his predecessors. Several of the former governors, indeed, received during some years from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* in fees; while he, by this sacrifice to general order, did not obtain one-sixth part of the sum in question. Relying, however, on the assurances he had received, that no loss should finally accrue, and gratified at the additional security obtained on the part of the civil inhabitants, His Royal Highness executed the unpopular, but very necessary task imposed upon him, without complaint or murmur; although, assuredly, not without manifest loss to his own revenue.

And here it may be necessary to observe, that, on the Duke's return from Gibraltar, the allowance of the officer left in command of the garrison, as an indemnification for the fees which were taken from the Governor and carried to the credit of the revenue, was fixed, first at 3,000*l.*, and afterwards augmented to 3,500*l.*, upon the representation of Sir Thomas Trigge; but no consideration has ever been paid to the loss sustained by His Royal Highness during the year he was entrusted with the command of the fortress: although it is a well-known fact, that the average of the fees amounted to 7,000*l.* *per annum*; and that, during the absence of the Governor, a full moiety was regularly remitted to him by his representative.

On the return of Mr. Pitt to office, in 1804, the Duke of Kent seized the earliest opportunity to renew his claims, and remind that Minister of the expectations held out to him three years before. In consequence of the fresh hopes now obtained of speedy adjustment, His Royal Highness was enabled to pacify his creditors for a time; but as they became discontented with such frequent delays, he obtained an interview with the Premier in July, 1805, when that gentleman intimated his intention of recommending to His Majesty to grant 20,000*l.* from the *droits* of the Admiralty, to each of his younger sons, which he hoped "would prove a temporary accommodation to the Duke of Kent." But he at the same time positively declared "that it was not intended in the least to affect the consideration of His Royal Highness's distinct and peculiar claims for losses; or be deemed a compensation for the injury he had sustained from the delay of granting his parliamentary establishment."

In fine, he stated, "that the grants from the *droits* of the Admiralty would be a spontaneous present from the King to all his younger sons alike."

It is evident that this sum was never meant as an indemnification; but it may be here necessary to add, that it was instantly and faithfully applied by the Duke to pay off the prior debt originally bonded in 1791.

Nearly at the same time, His Royal Highness entered into another negotiation with the Minister, for the purpose of rescuing the five younger sons from the difficulties incident to an incompetent income; the result of which has been already mentioned. In consequence of this, a fresh promise was now made to take into consideration all the separate claims of the Duke of Kent; particularly those arising from the debts incurred between the years 1790 and 1799, when his income proved so inadequate to the necessary expenditure; the pressure of which had been greatly aggravated by an enormous, and annually increasing interest.

The demise of Mr. Pitt, followed by a new and fallacious settlement, which, instead of meliorating, greatly deteriorated the condition of all the younger princes, prevented the fulfilment of His Royal Highness's engagements, which had been entered into on the faith of a solemn promise made by a public minister.

After that period, the Duke of Kent in vain appealed to every branch of Government for redress, but was never so fortunate as to obtain justice in respect to losses, either duly certified by General Wetherall, then at the head of his household, or sanctioned by incontestable documents, to the

amount of 108,200*l.*; inquiry, reference, arbitration, even a patient hearing, having all been refused.

Reduced to so critical and mortifying a dilemma, the Duke now determined to make every sacrifice that either honour or justice could demand. Accordingly, in 1807 he conveyed one-half of his income to his trustees, for the express purpose of liquidating his debts; at the same time reducing his establishment, and limiting his arrangements, so as to meet the exigency of the case. Twenty-one years was the period assigned for clearing off all encumbrances; but, partly owing to the sudden and unforeseen increase of every article of expense, and partly from the accruing arrears of interest, together with the large annual sum paid for an insurance on the life of His Royal Highness, the capital was found to have been only reduced on one hand from 112,000*l.* to 75,000*l.*; while a fresh debt to the amount of 28,000*l.* had been actually incurred on the other; thus leaving a saving of only 9,000*l.*

This fresh debt, arising from the annual excess of 4,000*l.* of expenditure above the net income, (which, since 1807, has been only 11,000*l.*, including military and civil allowances, as Governor of Gibraltar,) became peculiarly oppressive, as it was chiefly owing to little tradesmen. In addition to this, the Treasury minute of 1807, limiting the fixtures and supplies of furniture from the Lord Chamberlain's office, on the part of the younger branches of the royal family residing in any of the palaces, to *fixtures* alone, has borne particularly hard on His Royal Highness, by adding a fresh sum of 6,000*l.* to his former debt, on account of

articles supplied by himself at Kensington palace. This circumstance, too, is farther aggravated by the consideration, that the Duke is actually a sufferer on this occasion, and to this precise amount, solely by the neglect of the Office of Works in completing the apartments in question; which, but for this, would have been furnished as usual, anterior to the obnoxious mandate just alluded to.

Nor is the situation of His Royal Highness much meliorated, however he may be personally gratified, by the consideration that two of the royal family, in precisely the same situation with himself, (the Dukes of Clarence and Cumberland,) have been so essentially favoured as to have their respective apartments completely furnished;—not only posterior to, but in express contravention of the hostile Treasury minute already quoted. And this too has occurred under the direction of that very same Lord Chamberlain's department which had enforced the prohibition against others in the most rigorous manner.

It may be necessary to conclude this long catalogue of disappointments, mortifications, and misfortunes, by adding that Mr. R——, the solicitor of His Royal Highness, suddenly disappeared some years since; by which event a pecuniary defalcation to the amount of 2,000*l.* was sustained on the part of the Duke.

Instead, however, of succumbing under such a cruel series of losses, vexations, and injuries, which would never have been endured without an appeal to the nation, and, in all probability, a redress from the justice of the Government, on the part of any private individual: the Duke of Kent has acted in a manner worthy of himself. His Royal Highness

has accordingly made new, recent, and important sacrifices, for the satisfaction of his creditors; incompatible, indeed, perhaps, with his exalted rank, but assuredly not unworthy of his high sense of honour. His establishment has once more been subjected to revision and reduction: and it is at this moment on a level with that of a private gentleman, rather than a prince of the blood; while his diminished household is regulated with a degree of order, economy, and precision, perhaps unequalled in any other family in the kingdom.

However painful it may be to the feelings of one so nearly allied to the throne, it will surely contribute rather to the glory than the disgrace of this Prince, frankly to confess, that his wines have been sold, and his plate mortgaged, to supply the wants of some, and secure the claims of others, to whom he stands indebted. Nor is this all, for His Royal Highness, instead of seeking protection from his privilege as a peer of the realm, has not only insured his life for their benefit, but actually assigned the whole of his income to them, with an exception of only 7,000*l.* a-year.

And this, perhaps, is the proper place to remark on and elucidate the sole accusation ever made against the character of His Royal Highness, either public or private; more especially as this circumstance has been magnified, distorted, and perverted, with no common degree of assiduity.

Bred in the old school, and at a time, too, when the new, and perhaps more enlightened ideas concerning military punishments, had not yet dawned on this age's nation, the Duke of Kent had been taught early to believe that, in England as in Rome of old, the safety of the State abso-

lutely depended on the strictness of the discipline of its armies. Let it be recollected, too, that at Gibraltar he was expressly enjoined to repress the military licence of an inebriated garrison: that the odious task was not sought for, but imposed on him, to his own manifest disadvantage; and that his conduct on this occasion at once merited and obtained the thanks of the inhabitants.

No sooner, however, did a more liberal policy flash conviction on the mind of His Royal Highness, now arrived at a more mature period of life, than, with a magnanimity to be found only in a great and noble mind, he ingenuously avowed the sole errors of his youth and education, by frankly acknowledging, that the military punishments then in use might be safely commuted for others less rigorous, and at the same time equally efficient. Accordingly, he was actually the first to give a practical example, by substituting solitary confinement, which may in the end create a good soldier, for the lash, which is found by experience constantly to produce a bad one.

And, if the best estimate of a governor is to be deduced from the voluntary good opinion and disinterested gratitude of the governed, it must be owned, that no public character ever challenged a higher claim to respect, than that of the Duke of Kent. After his return to England, the inhabitants, including the civil officers of the garrison of Gibraltar, transmitted a thousand guineas, for the purchase of a piece of plate and a diamond garter to His Royal Highness. The assembly of Nova Scotia, too, some time before he left Halifax, passed an unanimous vote of thanks in

his favour, and presented him at the same time with a diamond star.

Instead of passing his time at home in inglorious ease, a large portion of the life of the Field-Marshal has been spent in camps and garrisons; and it arises from no want of zeal on his own part, that His Royal Highness has not been permitted to take an active and efficient part in the most dangerous occurrences of the late war.

The barren rock of Gibraltar—the tropical heats of the West Indies—the rigours of ten Canadian winters, all attest both the length and the nature of his services.

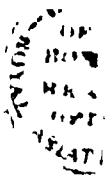
Regular, methodical, abstemious, he can be accused of no vice; active, vigilant, intrepid, he can be suspected of no dereliction of duty. His personal gallantry was early displayed, by leading a storming party of grenadiers, at the attack of one of the strongest fortresses in the West Indies; while his submission, good conduct, and ability, were all fully testified in the despatches of the Commander-in-Chief, after obtaining the victory.

Anxious for the improvement of the minds and morals of those subjected to his command, this distinguished officer was the first to exhibit a laudable example to the army, by the introduction of regimental schools; while in imitation of his royal father, he has ever been eager to diffuse the blessings of education throughout all ranks, classes, and denominations of civil society.

Highly gifted by nature, both for business and debate, the Duke of Kent has hitherto been prevented alone by a nice, and perhaps culpable sense of delicacy, from exhi-

biting great oratorical powers in his parliamentary capacity, and has therefore confined his eloquence to the advancement of the cause of humanity, and the promotion of those great public charities in which England stands so proudly pre-eminent above all contemporary and contiguous nations.

And is this a character fitted for the alternative of penury or proscription? to remain in a disgraceful obscurity at home, or be driven into a dishonourable exile in a foreign land, after having petitioned in vain for that justice which would have enabled him to have benefited and adorned the country that gave him birth?



C.

Whitehall, May 16, 1794.

A DESPATCH, dated St. Lucia, April 4, 1794, of which the following is an extract, was this day received from General Sir Charles Grey, K.B., by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department:—

"In my despatch of the 25th ultimo, I had the happiness to acquaint you of the surrender of Fort Bourbon (now Fort George) and the Island of Martinico, on that day.

* * * * *

"I have the honour to acquaint you with the further success of His Majesty's arms, in the conquest of this fine island; the French garrison, under the command of General Ricard, in the works on Morne Fortunée, having marched out and laid down their arms, this morning, by nine o'clock; at which time His Royal Highness Prince Edward, with his brigade of grenadiers, and Major-General Dundas, with his brigade of light infantry, marched in and took possession.

"On the 30th ultimo the brigade of grenadiers, commanded by His Royal Highness Prince Edward; the brigade of light infantry, by Major-General Dundas; and the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments, by Colonel Sir Charles Gordon; with engineers, &c. under Colonel Durnford, and a detachment of royal artillery, with some light ordnance, under Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Paterson, embarked on board His Majesty's ships in the bay of Fort Royal, having left the transports and heavy artillery at Martinico; and also left there the 15th, 39th, 56th, 58th, 64th, and 70th regiments, artillery, &c. as a garrison, under Lieutenant-General Prescott, Brigadier-General White, and Colonel Myers; but that day proving very rainy, hazy, and calm, we did not sail till the 31st, and reached St. Lucia the 1st instant. Every necessary matter being previously concerted and arranged with the Admiral, we proceeded, and effected three different landings with little resistance, and no loss; viz. Major-General Dundas's division, consisting of the 3d battalion light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Close, and conducted by Captain Kelly and Lord Garlies of the navy, at Ance du Cap; and the 2d light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Blundell, conducted by Commodore Thompson, at Ance de Choe; who were ordered to join, taking the enemy's batteries in reverse, and to occupy a near position for the purpose of investing the works of Morne Fortunée, on the side of the Careenage, which was executed with the usual spirit and ability of that Major-General, and the flank battalions. His Royal Highness Prince Edward's division, the 1st and 3d grenadiers, disembarked at Marigot des Roseaux, immediately under the Admiral's own direction, assisted by Captain Hervey, and immediately proceeded to co-operate with Major-General Dundas, to invest Morne Fortunée. Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, with the 1st battalion of light infantry, did not disembark till seven o'clock the same evening, from the Boyne, and landed at Anaise de la Tocque, proceeded

to, and took the four-gun battery of Ciceron, investing Morne Fortunée on that side, at the same time covering Cul de Sac, or Barrington Bay, for our shipping, which anchored there next morning, the 2d instant. The 2d grenadiers and Colonel Sir Charles Gordon's brigade (the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments) were kept in reserve on board ship. About seven o'clock in the evening of the 2d instant, Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, with four light companies, stormed a redoubt and two batteries by my order, close to the enemy's principal works on the Morne, killed two officers and near thirty men, made one prisoner, and released one British sailor from captivity, spiking six pieces of cannon. The ability and meritorious conduct of that excellent officer, Colonel Coote, on this enterprise, are such as do him the highest honour, and cannot be surpassed. In his enterprise he was well supported by the whole detachment; particularly by Major Evatt, Captains Buchanan, Crosbie, Welch, J. Grey, Aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, and Stobin, and by Major of brigade Visscher, with Lieutenant Drozier, and the detachment of royal artillery, who spiked the guns.

"The exemplary good conduct of the brigade of grenadiers under the immediate command of His Royal Highness Prince Edward, and of the brigade of light infantry under Major-General Dundas, and indeed of all the troops, affords me the highest satisfaction.

"When His Royal Highness Prince Edward had hoisted the British colours on Morne Fortunée, the name of it was changed to Fort Charlotte; and the entire conquest of this

island has been effected without the loss of a man, although there has been a good deal of cannonading from the enemy's batteries and works.

"I transmit the colours to be presented to His Majesty. Captain Finch Mason, one of my Aides-de-camp, will have the honour of presenting this despatch, being an officer well qualified to give any further information you may desire to receive.

"I transmit herewith a general return of ordnance and stores found in the fort of Morne Fortunée, and also a general return of the batteries on the coast of St. Lucia."

D.

THE DUKE'S GENERAL ORDERS AT GIBRALTAR.*

At half an hour before second evening gun-fire, the drummer's call is to beat, when all the drummers and fifers are immediately to assemble and begin to beat the tattoo through the district, which will be pointed out by the Town Major as belonging to the barrack in which the regiment is quartered; after which, no man is to leave his barracks, and every man is required to repair to them *at least a quarter of an hour before the gun fires,* when the senior non-commissioned officer present of each company is to commence calling the roll of his company, in the several barrack-rooms occupied by the non-commissioned officers and men of the same; during which time all musicians, waiters to officers, all regimental orderlies of every description, all men confined to the barracks, or who attend drill for punishment, all regimental prisoners, and all men under sentence of black strap, all men for guard the ensuing day (who are to be considered as a piquet, and the first to turn out in case of an alarm), from *all* of whom the *most correct sobriety* is required, are to be assembled by the sergeant-major, aided by the drill-sergeants, when the adjutant will attend and minutely inspect them one by one, as their names are called over by the sergeant-major, to see that they are all perfectly regular,

* Code of Standing Orders as required to be observed in the Garrison of Gibraltar. Established by General His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, Governor of Gibraltar. Printed at the Garrison Library, Feb. 1803.

and that *none is anywise disguised in liquor*. After this duty has been performed, the reports of each company are next to be collected by the sergeant-major, and by him delivered to the adjutant, when all the non-commissioned officers, and men acting as such, will fall in, in the orderly room, and their names be called over by the sergeant-major, to which they are required to answer, and then pass by the adjutant for his inspection, in order that *their correct sobriety* may also be ascertained, as no degree of inebriety is *at any time* admissible in *a non-commissioned officer*. On the second evening gun firing, the drummers will instantly cease beating the tattoo, and immediately be inspected by the adjutant to ascertain *their perfect sobriety*, they being always considered as *on duty* at *that* hour, and when this inspection is completed he is to send them to their rooms.

THE CANTEEN.

1. The canteen is invariably to be held by a sergeant of respectability, and one who will keep up and enforce his authority as *such*. He is to be allowed the assistance of one careful man. It is not to open, on any day, until one hour after guard-mounting; it is not to remain open later than the drummer's call beats for tattoo—viz. half an hour before second evening gun-fire; it is to be shut whenever the regiment is on parade, or out in the field, and not to be open on Sundays until after Divine Service in the convent chapel is over.

2. No spirituous liquor, whether mixed or unmixed, of any sort or kind, is to be sold upon any pretence whatso-

ever; the sale, therefore, of liquor is limited to wine, malt-liquor, cyder, and beer.

3. No cards, dice, or gambling of any description, are to be allowed in it.

4. No liquor whatsoever is to be sold for any other than that of being drunk in the canteen, as none is on any pretence to be carried out of it, except for the use of the families of outlayers, and then the quantity sold to any one person is not to exceed one pint, nor is any to be delivered to children under the age of fifteen years.

5. No liquor whatsoever is to be sold on trust; and therefore, if any non-commissioned officer or soldier be suffered to depart without paying for what he has been supplied with before he leaves the canteen, he is cleared of all obligation to pay afterwards.

6. No non-commissioned officer or soldier is to be permitted to leave in pledge any part of his dress, necessaries, or appointments, for liquor, nor is anything to be received but money; therefore, if any one calls for more than he can pay for on the spot, he is immediately to be sent prisoner to the regimental guard-house, charged with the crime of disobedience of orders, for the purpose of being brought to a court-martial, and punished for the same.

7. No non-commissioned officers or soldiers of any other corps but that to which the canteen belongs, nor any stranger of any description, except being passed in by a commissioned officer, the sergeant-major, or quarter-master sergeant, is to be admitted into the canteen without producing permission in writing from the commanding officer of the corps; nor are any persons to be supplied with liquor

from it, but the non-commissioned officers, &c. belonging to the regiment.

8. No non-commissioned officer or soldier who has the least appearance of intoxication, is to be permitted to enter the canteen; such as show a disposition to drunkenness or rioting are immediately to be sent to their barracks, and if disobedient to the orders of the non-commissioned officer holding the canteen, when directed to go there, are to be sent prisoners to the guard-house, with a crime against them for refusing to obey his orders.

9. The non-commissioned officer having charge of the canteen, is to be obeyed by the other non-commissioned officers and soldiers, as next in rank to the quarter-master sergeant, in everything relating to the carrying on the business of the canteen. He and his assistant have authority to call upon the barrack-guard for assistance, whenever good order and regularity are in danger of being disturbed; but on no other occasion, except when called upon for this purpose, are non-commissioned officers or soldiers, on duty, to enter the canteen.

10. The captain of the day and orderly officer are each of them frequently to visit the canteen, and if they discover any irregularity or breach of these regulations during the time they are on duty, they are to report the same to the commanding officer in writing.

11. The established price of wine and malt liquor is to be at the following rate, and never to be altered without an order from the commanding officer; viz.—Malaga, two reals per quart; black wine, one real and a-half per quart;

porter, one real and a-half per bottle; and beer, one real per quart.

The wine to be sold in the same state as it is purchased from the merchant, and any attempt to adulterate it is, on detection, to be punished in the most exemplary manner.*

* Standing Regulations for Regimental Canteens at Gibraltar.—Order Book, 1803. Printed at the Garrison Library.

E.

LETTER FROM MR. COUTTS.

Strand, London, March 30, 1816.

SIR,—I have perused with much attention and great pleasure the papers your Royal Highness sent me for that purpose, on your late departure for Brussels, respecting affairs on which you communicated with the various ministers of the day, the clear details and accuracy whereof must ever do your Royal Highness the greatest honour. I should flatter myself, the ministers employed in the financial arrangements of the empire, whatever difficulties they may have to encounter from the consequences of the dreadful duration of the war, and the unexampled expense consequent to it, will feel it incumbent upon them to give the consideration due to your Royal Highness's situation, and be well inclined to administer such relief as circumstances may render possible; and I cannot allow myself to doubt of the universal approbation that I think must follow the determined and zealous exertions of your Royal Highness for the discharge of the encumbrances that now distress you, and the pleasure every person will feel at seeing them attended with ultimate success. I had frequent communications with Mr. Adam, at the time he was engaged in treating with Mr. Pitt on the subject of the aid proposed to be given to the younger branches of the royal family, and the *particular hardship of your Royal Highness's own situation, and your statement regarding these objects appears to*

me to be perfectly correct. I also remember to have seen Mr. Pitt myself, and to have conversed with him often on the same. It is difficult, especially with my failing memory, to recall to mind all particulars, especially sums and dates, alluded to in such conversation; but I well remember 6,000*l.* was the sum of additional annuity determined upon. I also recollect hearing it spoken of as a matter of injustice and inequality, that the two Princes residing in Kensington Palace had not any table found them, as the other three residing at St. James's had, and which was valued at a very considerable annual sum. I think it was also mentioned as Mr. Pitt's intention, that the whole five Princes, besides the new grant of 6,000*l.* per annum, should have an equal sum allowed to each in the room of a table; although I cannot boast of my memory enabling me to state the quantum of the proposed allowance. As to the other two points, namely, remuneration for having your parliamentary grant of 12,000*l.* per annum voted to you several years later in your life than any of the other four Princes, older or younger than yourself, had theirs, or for losses by shipwreck or captures; I do not remember what may have been proposed to have been given in compensation for either, though I recollect to have heard them both spoken of as being fair claims. Mr. Adam, I think, is more likely than I am to give a full explanation and clear information, having had more frequent opportunities of intercourse, and going to Mr. Pitt expressly on your Royal Highness's business; whereas my intercourse occurred irregularly and accidentally, at times when I had occasion to go to him on his own business; but I clearly recollect that Mr. Pitt always

expressed the greatest wish that all your Royal Highness's and your brothers' embarrassments should be totally removed, and your incomes made such as to prevent all occasion to resort to the necessity of borrowing, and equal to supporting the dignity of illustrious rank in the empire. I have the honour to be, with the most dutiful respect,

Sir, your Royal Highness's

Most faithful and most obedient Servant,

(Signed) THOMAS COUTTS.

F.

LETTER FROM COMMISSIONER ADAM.

Shrub Hall, Edinburgh, 10*th Dec.*, 1814.

SIR,

I persuade myself that the condescending goodness which has always been shown to me by your Royal Highness, will extend to me on the present occasion; and that I shall be forgiven for not having replied sooner to your Royal Highness's letter of the 31st of November, and stated as to the extract, what my recollection now tells me to be correct respecting it. The distance of time makes it impossible to state with minuteness the sums and dates, but the general impression is *clear in my memory*, and I have so expressed it.

I am, Sir,

With the most profound respect,

Your Royal Highness's

Most devoted and humble Servant,

WILLIAM ADAM.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.

At the request of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, I have perused the extract, and by His Royal Highness's desire, as my absence might render it impossible to apply to me personally, I state what my recollection serves me to mention, viz. that although I cannot bear in mind the particular sums and precise dates mentioned in the extract,

I have a correct memory of its containing *a* JUST *and true representation of Mr. Pitt's sentiments*, as to the aid to be given to the younger branches of the royal family, and that what relates to the PECULIARITY of the Duke of Kent's situation, was admitted by Mr. Pitt in the manner here stated.

WILLIAM ADAM.

G.

COPY OF MEMORIAL TO THE PRINCE REGENT THROUGH VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

To His Royal Highness George Augustus Frederic Prince of Wales, in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The memorial of Edward Duke of Kent respectfully showeth,

That your memorialist was in the year 1802 appointed from the command of His Majesty's forces in North America, to the Government of the fortress of Gibraltar, *vice* General O'Hara deceased.

That at the time of such appointment your memorialist had a just claim to all the emoluments heretofore enjoyed by the governor of the fortress.

That the principal part of these emoluments consisted in certain fees upon the licence of wine-houses, and upon all liquors drunk in the garrison, enjoyed wholly by him when present, while custom established his right to half of them when absent.

That the average of these for several years prior to the death of General O'Hara, it can be proved from the books of the Deputy-Receiver-General, who collected those fees for the Governor, was 7,000*l.* per annum.

That upon your memorialist proceeding to Gibraltar, in consequence of several communications he had with the

present Lord Sidmouth, then First Lord of the Treasury, *he was authorized to adopt arrangements for diminishing the extreme temptation to drunkenness*, which the very large number of licensed wine-houses held out to the soldiers; but, as it was well known that this had been the principal source of emolument to the governor, from the first moment Gibraltar was in possession of the British, your memorialist received *the* ASSURANCE *from Lord Sidmouth, that he should be no loser by such arrangements*, and that an ample compensation should be made him in due time, whenever it should be seen what was the loss he thereby sustained.

That during twelve months your memorialist was in the command of that fortress, such was the diminution in the amount of the fees received, that where 9,000*l.* had heretofore been the average, he did not receive 2,000*l.* That in the year 1803, at the moment of your memorialist's departure, an order was brought from the Secretary of State, by Sir Thomas Trigge, for allowing the officer resident in command of the fortress of Gibraltar the sum of 3,500*l.* per annum, in place of his fees, which were to be carried to the credit of the revenue.

That, in consequence of this, your memorialist, who, from long-established custom, should have been entitled, during his absence, to receive the moiety of his fees, has from that time been deprived of the sum altogether, although it is evident, from the allowance made to the officer in command, that one-half only of the average of the fees was awarded him, which, if any other proof was necessary, establishes the claim of the Governor to the half.

That, in consequence of the former very great emolu-

ments attached to the Governor of Gibraltar, no outfit was allowed to a Governor going out to that fortress; from which no exception was made in favour of your memorialist, although those emoluments were so essentially diminished from the moment of his assuming the command, the hardship of which was particularly felt, from the short time he held it, which did not exceed a twelvemonth.

That on these grounds your memorialist respectfully solicits of your Royal Highness's justice the difference between the sum he derived from the reduced fees, during the year of his command, and the average at which they were heretofore rated before the reduction of the wine-houses took place, the arrear of the moiety of the average of the fees, which are his just due, from May 1803, when he left Gibraltar, unto the present time.

And, lastly, the assurance that so long as your Royal Highness is pleased to continue your memorialist as Governor of Gibraltar, he may be assured of receiving the moiety of those fees which would have been his undoubted right, had not his zeal for the public service led him to make that diminution in the number of licensed wine-houses for the sale of liquors, which so essentially diminished his income.

H.

THE following official notifications belong to the year 1805: and, but for an oversight, would have appeared in the body of the work:—

"*September 7th*, 1805.—General, His Royal Highness Edward, Duke of Kent, K.G., to be Field-Marshal of the forces."

"*Whitehall, Nov. 25*, 1805.—His Royal Highness Edward, Duke of Kent, appointed Keeper and Paler of the house and park of Hampton Court, and mower of the brakes there, and of the herbage and pannage of the said park, with the wood called browsings, wind-fall wood, and dead wood, happening in the said park; and of all the barns, stables, outhouses, gardens, and curtileges, belonging to the great lodge in the said park, together with the said lodge itself, &c. during His Majesty's pleasure."

I.

DR. NEALE'S STATEMENT.

THE barbarous murder of Mr. Wood, on his journey between Constantinople and Ruschuk, occurred soon after the death of Senor Ocarris, and is remarkable on account of some striking circumstances connected with it. This gentleman, who had been confidentially employed by the English Ambassador, was the bearer of despatches between Constantinople and Petersburg, Vienna and London.

He quitted Peru in February 1806, and the mouths of the Danube being still obstructed with ice, it was deemed expedient, for the sake of greater expedition, that he should take the overland route across Mount Hæmus, through Bulgaria. Having hired post-horses, he set out, accompanied by a Turkish janissary, a Greek lad of fourteen, his domestic, and a Frank of Peru, who was to return with the horses from the Danube. They had accomplished the second day's journey in safety, and were proceeding from Burgas towards Kirk-Iklissi (the forty churches), when, towards mid-day, they halted at a khan in a village, to refresh themselves and feed their animals. While there, a party of armed Turks entered the house, and having surveyed them very attentively for some time, sat down near the door. Mr. Wood and his attendants having finished

their repast, mounted their horses and quitted the village, but had not proceeded far, before they perceived these armed Turks in full pursuit. The janissary suspecting their sinister intentions, called out to Mr. Wood to make what speed he could and escape; himself showing the example by digging the shovel stirrups into his horse's flanks, and setting out at a full gallop. Unluckily, however, Mr. Wood was but an indifferent horseman, and besides other encumbrances, had attached a dog by a string to the cantle of his saddle. The animal becoming entangled between the horse's legs, he halted to cut the string, and by so doing gave the robbers time to come up with him. The janissary and other attendants were then considerably in advance, but on turning round and observing Mr. Wood's critical situation, the faithful Turk wheeled round his horse and rejoined him, while the Frank guide galloped off.

By this time, the robbers having seized the reins of Mr. Wood's horse, compelled him and the janissary to dismount, and forced them into a thicket about two gun-shots from the road-side, where they commenced rifling Mr. Wood's person and packages. On ripping open the portmanteau containing his letters and official despatches, the Grand Seignor's travelling firman dropped out. Mr. Wood, being unfortunately entirely ignorant of the Turkish language, was unable to explain himself, and incautiously, and with some degree of warmth, disputed with the robbers the possession of his papers. One of the villains suddenly drew a loaded pistol from his girdle, and discharged the contents through Mr. Wood's head; the janissary was instantly murdered in the same manner; and the Greek lad, horror-struck at this

sanguinary scene, took advantage of the momentary confusion, and fled towards the mountains. But in scrambling over some broken ground, he fell amidst a volley of musket shots from the assassins; who, believing that their fire had taken effect, never followed him. In fact, however, he was not wounded, but fainted from fear, and lay in a ditch till nightfall, when he crept back to the town which they had quitted in the morning, and where he lay concealed for some days. Meantime the Frank guide returned to Pera, and communicated these disastrous tidings. Orders were immediately sent by the Reis Effendi to the Pasha at Burgas, to take instant measures against the murderers, and to recover, if possible, the despatches and property taken from Mr. Wood. In a few days some half-dozen heads were duly forwarded in a sack to the Porte, together with some very trifling articles of baggage, but none of the papers or despatches were ever forthcoming. This, joined to some other circumstances of a suspicious nature, led to a belief that the robbers *had been hired to waylay Mr. Wood, and possess themselves of his papers*, but that the murder was accidental, and was chiefly brought on by his own impetuosity of character. Be that as it may, the mystery, up to the hour of my quitting Constantinople, was never developed.

K.

As a Son, perhaps I may be pardoned for introducing the following—

Attestation of the late Dr. Neale's military services, from Sir James McGrigor, Bart., M.D., Director-General of the Army Medical Department.

"*Army Medical Department,*
London, August 10, 1837.

"SIR,

"In reply to your letter of the 26th of July, I have much pleasure in testifying to the merits of your late father, Dr. Neale, Physician to the Forces, as an officer in the public service. I have known Dr. Neale on various services for a period of upwards of twenty years, more particularly in the Peninsular War, where on one particular occasion it was my pleasing duty to convey to Dr. Neale THE THANKS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, for his extraordinary exertions on an emergency at Ciudad Rodrigo, where Dr. Neale was the principal medical officer, and displayed great professional skill, with *extraordinary zeal* for the public service.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"JAMES MCGRIGOR,

"*Director-General, Army Medical Department.*"

L.

PRINCE REGENT'S MESSAGE RESPECTING THE MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF KENT.

LORD CASTLEREAGH presented the following Message from the Prince Regent:—

"GEORGE P. R.

"The Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, thinks it right to acquaint the House of Commons, that he has given the Royal Consent to a marriage between His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and Her Serene Highness Mary Louisa Victoria, widow of the late Prince of Leiningen, and sister of the reigning Duke of Saxe Cobourg of Saalfeld, and of His Royal Highness Leopold George Frederick Prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld. His Royal Highness is persuaded that this alliance cannot but be acceptable to His Majesty's faithful subjects; and he has the fullest reliance on the concurrence and assistance of the House of Commons, in enabling him to make a suitable and proper provision with a view to the said marriage.

"G. P. R."

The House agreed, "to return His Royal Highness the thanks of this House for his most gracious communication of the intended marriage between His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and Her Serene Highness Mary Louisa Victoria, widow of the late Prince of Leiningen, and sister

of the reigning Duke of Saxe Cobourg of Saalfeld, and of His Royal Highness Leopold George Frederick Prince of Cobourg of Saalfeld; to express our entire satisfaction at the prospect of this alliance with a Protestant Princess of illustrious family, and to assure His Royal Highness that this House will immediately proceed to the consideration of His Royal Highness's gracious message, in such a manner as shall demonstrate the zeal, duty, and affectionate attachment of this House to His Majesty's person and family, and a due regard to the importance of any measure which may tend to secure the succession of the crown in His Majesty's illustrious house."

The Earl of *Liverpool* moved the order of the day for the consideration of the Prince Regent's Message on the subject of the Marriage of the Duke of Kent with the Princess of Leiningen. After what had already passed in parliament on the subject of making provision for the members of the royal family who might contract marriages with the consent of the Crown, it would not be necessary for him to detain their lordships with any detailed observation on the present case. He should merely state, that it was the intention of His Majesty's ministers to propose to parliament the same arrangement as had already been sanctioned by their lordships in the case of the Duke of Cambridge. He then moved an address of thanks to the Prince Regent for the communication, expressing their lordships' satisfaction at the intended union, and their readiness to concur in

the measures necessary for making a suitable provision for the royal Duke.

The Marquis of *Landsdowne* said, " He did not rise to oppose the motion; on the contrary, there were some circumstances, and particularly the relation in which the Princess named in the message stood to an illustrious person with whom their lordships had condoled on account of a late melancholy event, which must render this alliance very satisfactory to parliament and the country. The noble earl had stated that he intended to propose an arrangement of the same nature as that which had been sanctioned by parliament in the case of the Duke of Cambridge; but he thought it due to the illustrious Duke, who was the object of the message, that from what he knew of the state of his affairs, it was but justice that an increase should be made to his present income. He had suffered considerable embarrassments, but they arose from no improvidence on his part, but solely from his having been left for several years without any provision. It could not be expected of him that he should particularize the embarrassments of His Royal Highness, but it appeared to him proper that their existence should be known. As the increase proposed was the same as that which had already been voted by parliament to the Duke of Cambridge, it would doubtless receive the approbation of their lordships."

The address was then agreed to.

THE HOUSE having resolved itself into a Committee on the said Message,

Lord Castlereagh said, "that in calling the attention of the committee to His Royal Highness's gracious Message, it would not be necessary for him to trouble them at any length; for all the topics connected with the subject had been so recently discussed, and the general principle on which the House was disposed to act had been so fully recognised, that all that he felt it his duty to do was, to recall that principle to the minds of the committee, and to propose its application to the present case. The present question had, indeed, to a certain degree, been determined in the late discussions; for although he was not authorized to communicate to parliament the intended marriage of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, yet the treaty for that marriage was so far in progress at the time of the discussions to which he alluded, that he should have thought himself wanting, in candour, had he not opened to the House the probability that such an alliance would ere long be concluded. It might, he thought, be collected from the general character of the late discussions, that when a branch of the royal family entered into a matrimonial alliance, approved by the Crown and satisfactory to parliament, the House was disposed to vote such a decent and proper additional income as ought to be granted to a member of the royal family under such circumstances, and not to expect that he could meet his expenses with the same means when married as when single. He thought it might also

be collected, that there was no disposition on the part of the House to take into consideration, in their estimate of the proper grant to be made on such an occasion, the casual income which such branch of the royal family might derive from any military situation, whether conferred upon him at home for his past services, or abroad as a mark of honorary distinction. On these principles the House had acted in their grant of 6,000*l.* a-year to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. He proposed, in the present instance, strictly to follow the course adopted by the House on that occasion. He proposed to make the same provision for His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, and the same dower to his intended duchess, in the event of her surviving him. He did not mean to propose any outfit, as he understood from His Royal Highness, that, under all the circumstances of the case, he did not wish for it. There were one or two observations which he wished to be allowed to make, respecting the royal marriage at present under consideration. He was persuaded that the marriage itself must be felt by the committee to be, in every point of view, highly satisfactory; and that if any consideration were wanting to recommend it, that consideration would be found in the fact, that the connexion was not new to the country; but that the illustrious female, with whom His Royal Highness was about to ally himself, belonged to a family of whose virtuous and amiable qualities the country had already experienced the most convincing proof. He must say, in justice to this illustrious lady, and it was a feature of her conduct highly creditable to her, and which, he was sure, would recommend her to the respect of the Committee, that although, when

the treaty of marriage was in progress, she felt it her duty not to relinquish the personal guardianship of her children, by her former marriage, she did not extend that disposition to the pecuniary advantages of her widowhood; but that her marriage would deprive her of an income of 3,000*l.* a-year on that score, and of other smaller pecuniary advantages arising from her guardianship, amounting, in the whole, to about 5,000*l.* a-year; so that the provision of a dower for her, in the event of her surviving her illustrious husband, was but an act of bare justice. It was due also to His Royal Highness to state, that he was desirous that 2,000*l.* a-year of the proposed income should be settled on his royal Consort by way of pin-money. His Royal Highness had for some years been under the pressure of considerable encumbrances. Those encumbrances His Royal Highness had met in the most manly and honourable way [hear, hear!]. In consideration of these encumbrances it was not to be expected that His Royal Highness, immediately after his marriage (in the event of the provision being made, which he was about to propose to the Committee), would live altogether in that splendid style which he would otherwise do, and which he would adopt as soon as he was liberated from those encumbrances. They had been principally incurred at an early period of His Royal Highness's life. His Royal Highness, it must be recollected, did not come into the enjoyment of a separate income until a later period of his life than that at which it had been bestowed on other branches of the royal family. Until His Royal Highness was thirty-two years of age he

had only 5,000*l.* a-year allowed him by his royal father, and his emoluments of about 5,000*l.* a-year from his situation as Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in North America. From the narrow nature of that income arose those encumbrances which His Royal Highness was now in the course of discharging with so much honour to himself. Under these circumstances he would move, 'That His Majesty be enabled to grant a yearly sum of money out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, not exceeding in the whole the sum of 6,000*l.*, to make a suitable provision for His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, upon his marriage.'"

Mr. Curwen said, "that however painful to his feelings it might be, he felt it his duty to oppose the present motion. He rested his opposition on two points. In the first place, he did not know that he had ever acceded to any pledge, by which he was bound, in all cases, to make a provision for every branch of the royal family, when a marriage was about to take place. In the present instance, he could not see any necessity for making such a provision as that now called for, in addition to the income enjoyed by the illustrious Duke. He differed also from the noble lord on another point. He had observed, that they were not to take into consideration any emolument enjoyed from military or other situations, by the royal family, when a provision of this description was demanded. He never had conceded any such principle; and, if it had not been for the late hour at which the question was brought forward on a former occasion, when a grant was made to the Duke of Cam-

bridge, he would have opposed it. When he saw the illustrious duke receiving an income of 25,000*l.* per annum, he could not agree to an additional vote. He considered the situation in which the country was placed, and he could not consent that 6,000*l.* per annum should be added to the existing burthens. He wished to ask, was there no source from which this sum could be derived without coming to parliament?—Had not the illustrious Duke parents? Was not Her Majesty in possession of a very considerable sum, derived from the privy purse? That House had not inquired into the state of the privy purse, and, in neglecting to do so, they had neglected their duty. Out of the privy purse Her Majesty might have made good the sums necessary to remove the pecuniary embarrassments of the illustrious Duke, and thus have rendered an application to parliament unnecessary. He was glad that parliament had at length awaked to a sense of its duty. He was glad they had told the royal family, that, if they chose to contract debts, and did not discharge them out of their regular income, parliament, when applied to for that purpose, could not conscientiously assist them. In acting as he did, he was not influenced by a desire to do what was agreeable, but what was just. He opposed the motion with reluctance, because he had a high respect for the character of the illustrious Duke, but his duty to his constituents and to the country imperatively called on him to refuse the grant now called for."

" Sir *Robert Heron* bore unequivocal testimony to the character of the exalted individual in question, so well known by his constitutional principles, and by the bene-

volence of his disposition; but in the present overburthened state of the country, if it were necessary to make any addition to His Royal Highness's income, it ought to be made from those immense establishments maintained only for the purposes of parade and patronage, and which were easily and advantageously susceptible of diminution. After the late discussions, he would not trouble the Committee farther on the subject. So far, however, was he from thinking that the grant to the Duke of Cambridge was a proper precedent, that if he had had an opportunity of doing so, he should have opposed it as most objectionable, on account of the immense emolument that he derived from Hanover. If it were urged that that emolument was temporary, the answer was, that when it ended that would be time enough to make the proposed provision. To the dower proposed to be granted to the illustrious consort of His Royal Highness, he would make no opposition.

Mr. Brougham " was persuaded that if the Committee were to vote on the ground of the personal character or the private conduct of the illustrious individual in question, the motion would at once be disposed of; for he would venture to say, that no man had set a brighter example of public virtue—no man had more beneficially exerted himself in his high station to benefit every institution with which the best interests of the country, the protection and the education of the poor, were connected, than His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent. But it appeared to him that his two honourable friends who had just spoken, were perfectly right in saying, that all considerations of that nature ought to be entirely laid aside in deciding on such a proposition as that

now submitted to the Committee. Laying aside, therefore, all such considerations, he should vote for the motion on the same principle as that on which he had voted for the allowance to the Duke of Clarence. Here was a proposed matrimonial alliance, intended for the purpose of supplying the succession to the Crown, contracted with the full consent of the executive government, given in the manner prescribed by the constitution, and meeting with (as it deserved) the sanction of parliament. There was also this additional fact, that the finances of the illustrious individual in question were in such a state as to render parliamentary aid indispensable to the completion of a marriage, which was on all hands allowed to be so desirable. Such was the dry constitutional ground on which the vote rested. That House knew nothing of the personal qualities, of the merits or demerits of their Royal Highnesses. It was enough that they were Princes of the house of Brunswick, the succession of which it was so highly desirable if possible to secure. The only questions were, was the match calculated to obtain that object? Had it received the approbation of the Crown as prescribed by law? Did it deserve the sanction of parliament? If these questions were determined in the affirmative, as they were in the present case, and in the cases of the Dukes of Clarence and Cambridge, there then came the last question—Is the assistance of parliament necessary to enable the match to be concluded? To this answer an affirmative was given in the case of the Duke of Clarence, on which account he (Mr. B.) voted for an allowance to His Royal Highness; a negative was given to it in the case of the Duke of Cambridge, on which account he voted against

an allowance to His Royal Highness. An affirmative was now given to it in the case of the Duke of Kent, on which account he was compelled by his duty to vote for an allowance to His Royal Highness. This was the only true constitutional ground on which the noble lord's proposition ought to be acceded to, and not the gratitude which every man must feel who had witnessed the incessant exertions of the Duke of Kent for the last seven years to forward every object of a chariable and benevolent nature. He wished merely to advert (and that on public grounds) to what had dropped from the noble lord with respect to His Royal Highness's encumbrances. If he had been rightly informed, those encumbrances had arisen almost entirely, if not entirely, from the delay in providing for His Royal Highness a separate income. Instead of receiving 12,000*l.* a-year at the age of twenty-four, as prescribed by act of parliament, His Royal Highness enjoyed no income, except an allowance from His Majesty, until he was thirty-two. The appointments which had been conferred upon His Royal Highness had been by no means sinecures. Exposed to the severity of opposite climates, in the West Indies, in Gibraltar, in Nova Scotia, in Canada, His Royal Highness had spent twelve or fourteen years in active and harassing service without receiving any adequate emolument. His Royal Highness had also experienced great losses in his baggage, which in the case of an ordinary military officer would certainly have appeared in the army extraordinaries, but for which His Royal Highness had received no remuneration. His Royal Highness, however, made no claim whatever on this subject. But the circumstance, added to the length of

time during which his income was so limited, and the expense to which the important situation in which he was placed subjected him, had compelled him to incur debts to such an amount that His Royal Highness had set apart 17,000*l.* out of his present revenue of 25,000*l.*, for their discharge, which it would nevertheless take several years to effect. As on the one hand, he would not be induced by any favours that he might have received from His Royal Highness, or by the gratitude which, in common with the country, he felt for His Royal Highness's public conduct, to agree to any preposterous or misplaced expense that might be proposed on this occasion, so, on the other hand, he would not be deterred by popular clamour from opposing that more preposterous and misplaced economy that would refuse to His Royal Highness the fair allowance to which, under all the circumstances of the case, he was most justly entitled."

Mr. Methuen said, "He must protest against the grant, though he did it with every feeling of respect towards His Royal Highness, who was worthy of the greatest regard and esteem. He could not, however, in the present circumstances of the country, agree to the grant."

Lord Althorp said, "He agreed with his honourable and learned friend in the principle of the votes which both of them gave respecting the other branches of the royal family. He agreed with him, too, that it was most desirable the succession should be kept up in the House of Brunswick; and as it appeared in the case of the Duke of Clarence, that a marriage could not take place without some addition to his income, he had agreed to the moderate provision voted to

him, thinking that would be sufficient. Certainly, the noble lord had said that that moderate addition would not be sufficient; but it now appeared from rumours that the noble lord was mistaken. It did not appear to him that the marriage of all the branches of the royal family could be considered as any great advantage to the country. It might be desirable that some of them should marry, but it was not desirable that the country should be called on to enable all of them to marry. His honourable and learned friend had assumed that the marriage of the Duke of Kent would depend on this vote. But the noble lord, though he had stated to the House that the Duke of Kent was under pecuniary embarrassments, did not state that if the present vote was not agreed to the marriage would not take place. There was, therefore, this distinction between the case of the Duke of Kent and that of the Duke of Clarence. He had voted against the grant to the other branches of the royal family, because he did not consider the advantage to arise from their marriage sufficient to compensate the country for the burthen of an additional grant. For the same reason, though he had every respect for the Duke of Kent, and though he agreed in the praises which had been bestowed on him, in the present distressed state of the country he could not consent to vote in favour of the motion."

Mr. Brougham "wished to say a few words in consequence of what had fallen from his noble friend respecting the marriage of the Duke of Clarence. All of them knew that the noble lord opposite assigned as the ground on which he called on the House to consent to a vote of 10,000*l.* a-year to the Duke of Clarence, that unless the

House voted that sum, it was impossible His Royal Highness could marry! Notwithstanding that ground, the House had voted the lesser sum. But it must now surprise the House, that, notwithstanding the noble lord stated there was an absolute necessity for 10,000*l.* a-year to enable the Duke of Clarence to marry, it now appeared that even with 6,000*l.* a-year it was possible for him to contract marriage."

Lord Castlereagh said, "he had stated to the House, when he proposed 10,000*l.* as the sum necessary to enable His Royal Highness to marry, in the understanding that His Royal Highness should live in England, that it was impossible for His Majesty's government to advise a marriage, in the view with which he had proposed it to the House, on a smaller allowance. It was not necessary for him to state to the House what course His Royal Highness's feelings, and his sense of honour, dictated to him; but he would appeal to the House, if that marriage still took place, whether it would be grateful to their feelings that the sum necessary to enable His Royal Highness to support himself in a married state abroad, should be derived from any other source than the bounty of parliament."

Mr. Protheroe said, "that having opposed the grants to the other branches of the royal family, on the ground of the distressed state of the country, he could not conscientiously vote in favour of the present motion."

Mr. John Smith "considered that the statements of his honourable and learned friend had been correct. There were some circumstances in addition, however, which ought to be known to the House. He believed that His Royal Highness had received some small sum of money on

account of losses he had sustained. The House, however, were not perhaps aware of the exact state of his affairs. For many years His Royal Highness had not had a larger income than the eldest sons of many gentlemen in that House. He had incurred a large debt, a considerable portion of which had been discharged from the appropriation of a portion of the droits of the Admiralty. When it was considered that he had not had the parliamentary grant till he was thirty-two years of age, there did appear a sort of want of liberality in the House towards him. It was scarcely necessary to mention what was generally known,—the great benevolence, and the useful and generous conduct of His Royal Highness, of which no man could be ignorant. He had watched the progress of His Royal Highness; he had seen what he had done for numerous charities, and his constant exertions to advance the interests of many valuable institutions. Those things would be enough to influence him in his vote. But he thought it hard that it should be stated as a reason why he had not had the parliamentary grant till he was thirty-two years of age, that he had been in foreign service, exposing himself to the yellow fever, and to all the hardships of a West Indian climate. So far from agreeing with that idea, he thought that ought to be a reason why his allowance should be larger. His Royal Highness had set apart 17,000*l.* for the payment of his debts, and three years, he believed, would discharge them all. A mistake had been made with regard to the present amount of his income; for though 7,000*l.* remained, 1,000*l.* and more had been long paid to certain widows of officers and soldiers, who had been his companions in arms in former days, and he had no doubt

that sum would be continued to be paid by His Royal Highness. He voted for the motion of the noble lord upon principle alone, and he had seldom given his vote with greater satisfaction."

Sir C. Monck "wished to show the consistency of the vote which he intended to give. When the grant had been proposed to the Duke of Clarence as a member of the royal family, he was ready to accede to any grant of money that might secure to His Royal Highness a proper establishment. He had given his vote for the 10,000*l.*, thinking it not too large under all circumstances. But he could not agree with the noble lord, when he proceeded, he thought, in the most improper course which a minister of the Crown could adopt; when he proceeded to take that course which was calculated to record the motive for which that 10,000*l.* had been reduced. When he selected from the [illegible] of the royal family, if he might so [illegible] who stood so high in the public opinion as the Duke of Kent, he thought the noble lord went far to display an opinion that had been entertained on the proposal of that former grant. While the marriage of the Duke of Clarence was in course, he thought it was not proper that any other member of the royal family should come to the House and ask for an additional allowance for the same purpose. That should not, he conceived, be done till all hopes of increase had ceased from the marriage then pending."

The Committee then divided.

Ayes	205
Noes	51
Majority	154

LIST OF THE MINORITY.

Althorp, Viscount	Lyttelton, Hon. W.
Bennet, Hon. H. G.	Madocks, Wm. A.
Brand, Hon. T. W.	Martin, John
Byng, G.	Monck, Sir C.
Burrell, Hon. P. D.	Moore, Peter
Calvert, C.	Methuen, P.
Calvert, Nich.	Newman, R. W.
Calcraft, John	North, Dudley
Campbell, Hon. J.	Ord, Wm.
Carhampton, Earl of	Osborne, Lord F.
Carter, John	Portman, Ed. B.
Cranbourne, Viscount	Protheroe, Ed.
Coke, E.	Philips, G.
Dowdeswell, E.	Pym, T.
Dundas, C.	Ridley, Sir M. W.
Elliot, Right Hon. W.	Sebright, Sir John
Fane, John	Sefton, Earl of
Folkestone, Viscount	Sharp, R.
Ferguson, Sir R. C.	Shelley, Sir John
Guise, Sir Wm.	Stanley, Viscount
Heron, Sir Robert	Tierney, Right Hon G.
Hol[illegible] Edw.	Waldegrave, Hon. W.
Hurst, Robert	Webb, Ed.
Latouche, Robert	Wynn, C. W.
Lambton, John G.	
Lefevre, C. S.	
Lloyd, Sir Ed.	J. C. Curwen

Lord Castlereagh next moved, "That the sum of 6,000*l.* per annum be settled upon Her Serene Highness Mary Louisa Victoria, Princess of Leiningen, when she shall become Duchess of Kent, in case Her Highness should survive His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent, to be issuing and payable out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Agreed to.

R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD STREET HILL.

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